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ABSTRACT

The purposes of this book are to trace the influence of major social forces on the Alberta, Canada, public and Catholic school systems and to detail the evolution of these two systems. Beginning with a review of "The First People" of the Northwest Territories, chapter I examines political, economic, and sociocultural developments and their impact on education up to 1905; chapters II and III profile, respectively, the most prominent missionaries and the two principal orders of nuns active in the area during this early period. In chapter IV, the author traces the impact of social forces on education from 1905 to 1912. Following chapter V's exposition of major social forces in Alberta from 1912 to 1936, chapter VI details the impact of these developments on public and Catholic education during the same period. Chapter VII covers sociocultural factors and their implications for the period extending from 1936 to 1957. After a discussion in chapter VIII of the Alberta Catholic Education Association. chapter IX focuses on the period from 1957 to 1971 and its curriculum shift to "values education." The final chapter's description of the Alberta Catholic School Trustees' Association extends the study beyond 1971. The book concludes with an epilogue and a set of references. (JBM)

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ALBERTA CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

...a Social History

by

Nicholas Tkach

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FOREWORD

No single work, short of a comprehensive provincial encyclopedia, could adequately record the rich heritage of all Alberta Catholic schools. With a much more restricted purpose, Dr. Nicholas Tkach's *Alberta Catholic Schools: A Social History* sets a most enviable standard and a most needed springboard for future historians in treatment of local, provincial and national Catholic education. Misunderstanding of the roots and tradition of Catholic education in our province both within the Alberta Catholic community and within the larger public can be attributed at least in part to the lack of a suitably focused and significant historical account. Obstacles and logistical constraints were there but the Alberta Catholic School Trustees' Association decided that such a project was worth the time, money and effort involved. Small local histories had been written but nothing on the scale of Dr. Tkach's work had been attempted before.

A word of thanks is due to Alberta Education and the University of Alberta's Faculty of Education for providing grant funding to meet project expenses. The Association commissioned Dr. Tkach to tackle this historical undertaking, having in mind the need to provide Catholic teachers with some resource material related to their heritage in Catholic separate schools from a provincial point of view. This comprehensive history is valuable and timely because the knowledge of the past it presents will help us to understand ourselves and our current situation and to plot future direction and action with confidence. A firm sense of heritage can reinforce our aims and heighten the esteem in which we hold our schools.

What Dr. Tkach's work impresses most powerfully on one's mind is the inspirational sense of mission pervading Alberta Catholic schools both in the pioneer days and in our own modern, pluralistic society. Intrepid, dedicated and self-sacrificing Catholic clergy, religious and laity led the Church's mission in the pioneer settlements. Despite numerous hardships, the mission schools' program was in tune with the times, in accord with societal goals and objectives. The Native and immigrant children were instructed in basic literacy and arithmetic skills and in agricultural and domestic techniques. The religious teachers imparted Christian values and witnessed to their faith by virtuous example. The education provided was not a traditional scholarly program designed to help the students obtain diplomas. Rather, the pupils were instructed to become self-sufficient, responsible citizens.

Government became involved in education to a greater extent—particularly after the Territorial Government designated public and separate school districts and again after the establishment of Alberta as a province in 1905—to respond to people's school-related concerns. The early school program was designed to meet the needs and challenges of a frontier society. Then the Alberta curriculum evolved and kept pace with changing conditions. From changes to the schools' system of student placement, to the establishment of agricultural and vocational schools, to teacher certification and evaluation, to curriculum revisions, the overseers of education in Alberta have remained responsive to an expanding and industrializing but still agricultural province within an emerging nation. Vigilant of the shifting interplay of social forces—economic, technological, demographic and socio-cultural trends—Alberta has modified its educational program to meet the immediate, practical needs of students, be it through core curriculum adaptation or a stronger emphasis on career orientation and job preparation. But what the Tkach history throws into relief is that even now, as Alberta society is making the transition to a post-industrial age, Catholic separate schools are keeping pace with modern advances in education for the here and now while remaining steadfast in their commitment to instill in maturing students suitable understanding and attitudes to prepare for the life hereafter.

In recent years with the significant increase in the number of students enrolled in Catholic schools (80,736 as of September 30, 1982), greater lay participation in Catholic education, and contemporary concerns about values and family life education schools have enjoyed more equitable funding and greater credibility with the Government and general populace. When the new emphasis on values and family life education was brought into the social studies curriculum at the beginning of the 1970s, Catholic teachers and school supporters were not dismayed. New ideas and teaching methods had to be found in an increasingly secularized society, but values education based on Christ's Gospel teachings and Church authority had always been an integral part of Catholic schooling. The term "separate schools" has therefore evolved to mean "second established" within the boundaries of the original public district. They are considered a viable alternative within the fabric of education in Alberta. Catholic separate schools meet the same curriculum guidelines and follow the same administrative procedures as public schools. But they are not quite equal. By refusing to allow separate school districts to combine for educational purposes with the same freedom as public school districts and counties, the Government compels separate schools to operate under serious (financial and therefore educational) disadvantages. However, September 10, 1980 was the momentous day in the history of Roman Catholic education in Alberta when an Order-in-Council declared the boundaries of the public and separate school districts in the Bonnyville/Grand Centre/Cold Lake region coterminous.

Major gains have also been made toward complete equalization of school tax revenue but much remains to be done, particularly with respect to having funding relate totally to the number of students educated by each jurisdiction, public and separate. A uniform school districts' boundaries policy and total equity in distribution of tax assessment remain as major goals of the Alberta Catholic School Trustees' Association.

In the last few years, the exciting sense of renewal and mission from Vatican II has been funneled by the ACSTA into its Blueprints process for profiling and building the unique Christian identity of Catholic schools and integrating it with total faith community life. The early successes speak for themselves.

Alberta Catholic educators today are committed to working for the Mission and Ministry of the Catholic school: understanding its reason for existence, setting goals and objectives, and translating plans into reality.

The penchant of Alberta's Catholic school leaders to take up the torch of their predecessors and to break new ground in accordance with their religious stance and legal status seems to be the unifying thread in Dr. Tkach's interpretation of the data. In that there is much reassurance but no room for complacency.

J. Kevin McKinney

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This book would not have been written were it not for the help I received from many quarters. My thanks go to the Scholarship and Research Awards Committee (SARAC) of The University of Alberta whose members saw fit to award a grant so that I could devote all my energies to the book.

I would also like to express my gratitude to the directors of the Alberta Catholic School Trustees' Association who, together with many other members of the Catholic community, lent me their archives, their knowledge and their patience. In this regard, the help I received from Father C. Kindervater was invaluable, for he lent me the only complete extant set of Alberta Catholic Education Association Bulletins, and provided me with much of the background to the formative years of the Alberta Catholic School Trustees' Association. Many thanks too to all those who helped in the research, in the proofreading and in the editing. Special thanks go to the staff of Publication Services, Faculty of Education, who typeset the book, and finally brought it to the printers.

However, it is to Kevin McKinney of the Alberta Catholic School Trustees' Association that I owe the greatest debt of gratitude. The idea of the book was his brainchild; it was he who encouraged me throughout; more than this, it was Kevin who bolstered my spirits and made me persevere. May all authors have a friend of such kindliness, patience, and conviction.

INTRODUCTION

The legal rights of separate schools in Alberta are defined in three distinct pieces of legislation:

1. Section 93 of the British North America Act.
2. Chapter 29 of the Ordinance of the Northwest Territories, 1901.
3. Section 17 of the Alberta Act, 1905.*

The intent of this legislation was to give Roman Catholic school districts rights and privileges identical to those granted to the public school districts. But the political, economic, and sociocultural developments that occurred subsequent to the passage of the above acts precluded the entrenchment of the intended parity. Instead, contrary to initial intentions, the legal and ethical rights and privileges of the separate schools were, in time, seriously threatened and, via indirect means, eroded.

Yet despite unfavorable circumstances, the separate schools have retained their distinct identity and dynamic purpose—a tribute indeed to the "believers" (in a specific sense) in "Christian education" and (in a general sense) in a "state of limited commitment."** It is the story of these "believers"—the story of their efforts, their successes, their failures—that is recorded in this book.

These efforts, successes, and failures are inextricably intertwined with the history of public education in Alberta. And as elsewhere, the history of public schooling in this province cannot be viewed as "a self-contained . . . [entity] whose development . . . followed an inner logic and innate propulsion" (Bailyn, 1960, p. 9). This means that the educational history in question cannot be confined to studies of Alberta's institutions of formal learning and the men and women who worked in them and prescribed their aims, content, and methods (Kach & Miller, 1971, p. 140). Rather, the subject has to be treated as part of the mainstream of Alberta's history. In doing so, it is imperative that the development and growth of public schooling in the province be discussed in its political, economic, and sociocultural context.

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*Details regarding the content of the legislation referred to are included in Chapter VIII.

**In a state of limited commitment, man's search for and convictions about ultimate values have always been considered outside the domain of the state's competence. Permitting to the citizen development of character according to patterns of conviction freely arrived at and freely held has developed characters of sufficient strength and devotion to national convictions to enable the state to meet the objectives it set for itself. Only by continuing to permit such full and free development to organized moral forces or the right to dissent against them or to change commitment, can the state assure to the citizen and posterity the 'blessings of liberty.' This assurance has not and cannot be realized by eliminating genuine differences in the secular and sacral planes of national life. Rather, it can be gained by encouraging pluralism as a means to attaining civil peace without reducing the intellectual and spiritual life of the nation to a formless pulp.

Concomitant with the establishment of the public schools was the emergence and establishment of the Roman Catholic separate system. Generally speaking, to quote Hockstein, these two systems "are the same. They follow the same course of studies, use the same textbooks, meet the same standards, with teachers prepared in the same training schools" (Hochstein, 1954, p. 2). It is to be expected, then, that the separate schools were subject to and influenced by the same social forces that defined the patterns of growth and development of the public system. But in some fundamental ways the Catholic schools differed/differ from the public system. Consequently, the social forces mentioned did, in certain areas, affect the evolution of the latter differently than the former.

To elucidate how the major social forces influenced the two school systems and, consequently, to detail their evolution as part of the mainstream of Alberta's history, are the principal purposes of this book. This is done by following a consistent format for each chronological period delineated by the major curriculum reforms. The topics for each of these periods are: (a) Political Developments; (b) Economic Developments; (c) Population and Immigration; (d) Sociocultural Developments; (e) Political, Economic, and Sociocultural Developments and Their Implications for Education; and (f) Political, Economic, and Sociocultural Developments and Their Implications for the Separate Schools. Also in the text, and supplementing the main theme, is an account of the development of the Alberta Catholic School Trustees' Association and its contribution to Catholic education. Though a special chapter of the book is devoted to this topic, the Association's involvement in education is detailed in the appropriate sections of other chapters. A synopsis of the content of each chapter will assist the reader in getting a general overview of the subject covered.

Chapter I begins with a review of "The First People" of the Northwest Territories. The social structure, the lifestyles, and the cultural patterns of each of the main tribes are outlined as a backdrop to the subsequent changes that occurred with the coming of the explorers and the fur traders. The effects that this had upon the aboriginal peoples and the official policies implemented to resolve some of the problems that emerged from the confrontation of two very different cultures are then detailed. Following this is an account of the political developments, economic developments, population and immigration trends, and the sociocultural patterns in the Territories and the implications that these evolving social forces had upon education up to 1905.

During this early period, religious institutions were the only agencies that were concerned with the education of the indigenous and "immigrant" population. The two which played the major role in this enterprise were the Methodist Church and the Roman Catholic Church. But the "limelight" of this endeavor focuses not on the institutions but on the dynamic personalities that were the vanguard of this mission. It is, therefore, the account of their dedicated efforts that constitutes the text of Chapters II and III. Chapter II focuses on the most prominent missionaries—e.g., the McDougalls and Father Lacombe—while Chapter III relates the story of their counterparts—the nuns. Though only two orders, the Grey Nuns and the Sisters Faithful Companions of Jesus, are discussed in this chapter, their work is presented as being representative of all the orders whose members devoted their lives to dedicated service to others.

Chapter IV, following the format outlined in paragraph 5, traces the impact that the social forces had on theory and practice from 1905 to 1912 and the implications these interrelated forces had for Catholic education. Clearly evident in this chapter is that the 1912 revision concentrated on administrative changes and introduced only minor changes in content, methodology, and pedagogy.

Because Chapter V deals with a relatively extensive time period, 1912 to 1936, the content is restricted to the political, economic, and sociocultural developments in Alberta for the years indicated. That the scope of the topics is broad is attested to by the fact that in the two and one-half decades under discussion, the province witnessed the emergence and rise to power of two radical and typically Western (hinterland) political parties. The dynamics in other social spheres, economics for example, were equally dramatic.

In Chapter VI the political, economic, and sociocultural factors and their implications for education from 1912 to 1936 are detailed. Of signal importance in this section is the discussion of the major educational reforms implemented in 1936. Again it is demonstrated how the interrelated social forces influenced important aspects of both public and Catholic education.

The next section of this book, Chapter VII, deals not only with the social forces operative in Alberta from 1936 to 1957 but also considers the impact these forces had on education. To be consistent, part of this chapter looks at the influence that the evolving social forces and their implications for public education had upon Catholic education. The highlight of this chapter is the record of the almost instantaneous response of Western political and educational leaders to a technical event that was inextricably enmeshed in the ongoing ideological confrontation between the "free-world" and the U.S.S.R. This

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international event, it is shown, markedly influenced the schooling process in Alberta.

But while universal attention was directed to the free-world–Soviet competition for educational and assumed concomitant technical superiority, the Roman Catholic school supporters had more immediate and pressing concerns. Not that Sputnik and its aftermath did not affect the public and Catholic school programs, but of greater concern was the fact that the fundamental administrative changes implemented by the Social Credit government in 1936 threatened the viability of the rural and small town Catholic separate schools. It was this challenge, along with other factors, that precipitated the formal organization of the Alberta Catholic School Trustees' Association. The record of its formation and its involvement in educational concerns, particularly those relevant to the majority of Catholics. is related in Chapter VIII.

In the next chapter attention is again directed to the interplay of the major social forces, their implications for education, and the impact they had upon Catholic education. The interesting development in this period is the shift in the public school system to what was referred to as "values education." Not that anyone ever seriously claimed that education was value–free, but the curriculum change in the sixties specifically attempted to address itself to the moral and ethical growth of the child. It is precisely this area of child development (along with others) that had always been a chief concern of Catholic leaders, educators, and practicing Catholics in general. The factors that led to the curriculum changes in 1971 comprise the major text of Chapter IX.

It is at this point that documentation of Alberta's political, economic, and social history is terminated. For a number of reasons it is an appropriate point in time to stop. First, by 1971 the public school system had completed a full cycle—from emphasis on values at the turn of the 20th century to a period of secular relativity and finally a return to "values education." Second, the re–introduction of "values education" coincided with an important political change. Social Credit's long reign of supremacy was brought to an end and a new political era began. Third, 1971 is a relatively recent period for a historian to write about. This is a handicap because the more recent the events the more difficult it is to maintain objectivity. Finally, the attempt to record events up to the present moment invariably reduces itself to a regressive effort. In view of the above, 1971 is a logical stopping point.

The final chapter focuses on the origins, establishment, and work of the Alberta Catholic School Trustees' Association. Because the Association has realized some very significant objectives in the last two or three years, the account of this organization is detailed beyond 1971. Because these successes were culminations of historical processes already documented, the exclusion of the contextual historical events is justifiable.

The last section of Chapter X was prepared by the 1980–81 and 1982–83 Boards of Directors and Kevin McKinney, the Executive Director of the ACSTA. This statement specifies the ACSTA's long-range objectives. It is a concise *blueprint* for the future.

CHAPTER I

THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

The First People

The first inhabitants of the Territories were not indigenous, and it is not known for certain where they came from or how they came. One theory is that people who lived in Europe and Asia before the ice age wandered north as the glaciers receded until they came to, and eventually crossed, the narrow waters of the Bering Straits. Slowly, successive waves of these small bands moved up the Yukon River and across the watershed into the Mackenzie valley. As each new wave of natives crossed over from Asia, the earlier migrants were pushed further inland across Canada, the United States, Central America and perhaps on into South America. As a result of this migration pattern, broadly defined areas (illustrated on the map on the following page) could be identified as the principal domain of each tribe.

The prehistoric people comprising these tribes depended upon natural materials—stone, wood, bone, leather—for their weapons, tools, and implements. Bows and arrows were made of wood with heads of flaked stone. Hammers, knives, scrapers, drills, and other tools were crafted from stone. Animal skins provided materials for shelter, clothing, containers, and shields while bone was used for handles, drills, and ornaments. Many such practical and cultural elements were common to many tribes in Alberta. Other elements were, and basically remained, unique to each tribe. A brief overview of the major tribes follows.

Blackfoot

There were three tribes in the Blackfoot nation—the Bloods, Blackfoot, and Piegan. Each tribe was an independent unit so that even when they assembled they pitched their tents in separate camp circles and regulated their affairs by separate councils.

All three tribes were buffalo-hunting people who lived in tents and roved the prairies in search of the buffalo herds. On these sojourns, dogs and the travois were used to transport household possessions. Such extensive mobility facilitated the formation of societies which cut across the basic units of the family and the band. These societies met annually to perform religious rites and dances and to attend to other duties.

Prominent among these societies were the military ones. Known collectively as All-Comrades, they had one or two leaders who sat in the tribunal council when the bands united. In addition, these leaders arranged for the policing of the camps, organized the buffalo hunts, and guarded the tribe on the march. Generally, there were ten to twelve military societies in each tribe.

Equally significant were the dancing societies, both the social and those with religious functions. A feature common to all societies was the formal acquisition of ceremonial objects and the songs that went along with membership. The same transference of ceremonial objects permeated the religious life of the Blackfoot, affecting even the significance of the sun dance; for among the historical Blackfoot it was the fulfillment of a vow to purchase a sacred sun bundle.

Sun dance bundles, however, constituted only one group in a series of medicine bundles. These could be anything from a few feathers to a multitude of objects kept in a rawhide bag. Every article had special meaning and demanded a special song when exposed to light. Formal transfer of such objects extended over many days because the new owner had to learn not only the importance of each object but also the details of the visions to which they owed their origins.

Painted tents, amulets, everything that originated from a vision, the Blackfoot regarded in the same light as a medicine bundle. Each was a symbol of some blessing bestowed on the original owner which could be retained if the symbol was passed on along with the original vision—story and song. In short, the spiritual experience had to be the same.

No such ceremonial obligations were associated with the disposition of the dead. Ordinarily, deceased individuals were simply deposited in trees. Those who had been prominent in their communities were laid to rest in their tents on hill tops. Hence, many of the tent rings found on the prairies are burial rings and not former campsites.

Sarcee

The Sarcee were a small, relatively unimportant tribe which probably would have disappeared from the prairies had it not received protection from the Blackfoot. Proximity and dependence may account for the fact that Sarcee organization, customs, and religious beliefs were merely reflections of their powerful ally. For example, the Sarcee had similar divisions into bands and military societies, similar marriage and funeral rites, purchased Blackfoot medicine bundles and copied their institution of the annual sun dance. As expected, they shared, too, the fortunes and misfortunes of the Blackfoot.

Assiniboine

In the early part of the seventeeth century the Assiniboine were probably hunting in the area around Lake of the Woods and Lake Nipigon. By the eighteenth century most of them had moved to the northwest and divided into two branches. A major group occupied the territory west of Lake Winnipeg in close contact with the Cree.

Historically, then, the Assiniboine were a typical plains tribe living in tepees made of buffalo hide. Movement was frequent since existence was contingent on the migratory buffalo.

> Thus they followed the wanderings of the buffalo herds, dispersing into small bands during the winter months when the buffalo were more scattered and hunting difficult, and reuniting in spring for the great sun–dance festival and the driving of the herds into pounds.
>
> (Jenness, 1932, p. 310)

The introduction of horses widened the hunting range and provided the same stimulus to warfare. Like other plains tribes the Assiniboine became enthralled with war fever and divided their energies between buffalo hunts and raids against their enemies. Where such war passion existed, valour and success in battle were highly prized.

But war and hunting were not the only activities the Assiniboine engaged in. Other activities and events called for recognition and public ceremonies. Giving names to children, distributing gifts to daughters when they reached maturity, marriage ceremonies, and funeral rites were occasions that demanded special observance. Of these, funeral rites were probably the most elaborate. Though cremation and depositing warriors' remains on the surface of the ground was a recognized rite, the Assiniboine usually followed the procedure described by De Smet:

> They bind the bodies with thongs of rawhide between the branches of large trees, and, more frequently, place them on scaffolds. . . . They are higher than a man can reach. The feet are always turned to the west. There they are left to decay. When the scaffolds or the trees to which the dead are attached fall . . . the relatives bury all the other bones and place the skulls in a circle in the plain.
>
> (de Smet, 1905, p. 1141)

The greatest event, though, was the annual sun dance. After a ceremonial buffalo hunt, the united tribe moved to a chosen site and erected a sacred pole. To this pole people lashed their offerings to the Great Spirit or his manifestations, the sun gods and thunder. The ceremonies proper lasted for three days, after which the congregated tribe dispersed, with each band resuming its customary routine.

Plains Cree

Pre-European Plains Cree probably comprised those few bands that periodically moved from their homes in the woodlands to hunt buffalo on the prairies. Such movement precipitated conflict between the Cree and older plains tribes. Over time, as other bands of Cree joined the 'marauding' bands, their numbers increased until they became a menace to all the tribes along what is today the International Boundary.

The Plains Cree claim that formerly they were divided into twelve bands. Having a relatively weak culture, they assimilated many of the customs of their Assiniboine allies and of the Ojibwa, their eastern neighbors. From the Assiniboine they borrowed the sun dance and probably some of the dancing societies. Two important ceremonies—the annual smoke offering to the Great Spirit and the annual feast to the dead—were probably derived from the Ojibwa. Generally, their cultural patterns were similar to those of the Assiniboine, although each tribe differed in many ways from every other.

Gros Ventre

The Gros Ventre who formerly roamed over the southern part of Saskatchewan were a branch of the Arapaho, one of the numerous plains tribes of the United States. They were organized along lines similar to the Blackfoot, having military societies and other institutions that differed only in detail from their powerful neighbors. Eventually, as a consequence of pressure from the Assiniboine and Cree, the Gros Ventre retreated to the south and ceased to be a factor in the development of the Canadian West.

Historical Developments

Over time, continued migration and culturally-differentiating evolutionary processes resulted in greater specificity of tribal delineation and the territories each tribe occupied. [See, for example, the map of Alberta on the following page.] As noted previously, each tribe, in the past as in the present, differed in many ways. Yet underlying these differences were significant common elements. Aside from specific similar customs, rites, etc., the most fundamental common element was their success in developing a life style that was admirably harmonious with their natural and social environment. But once foreign socioeconomic elements were introduced, cultural dislocations followed. Such, indeed, was the case with the coming of the explorers and fur traders.

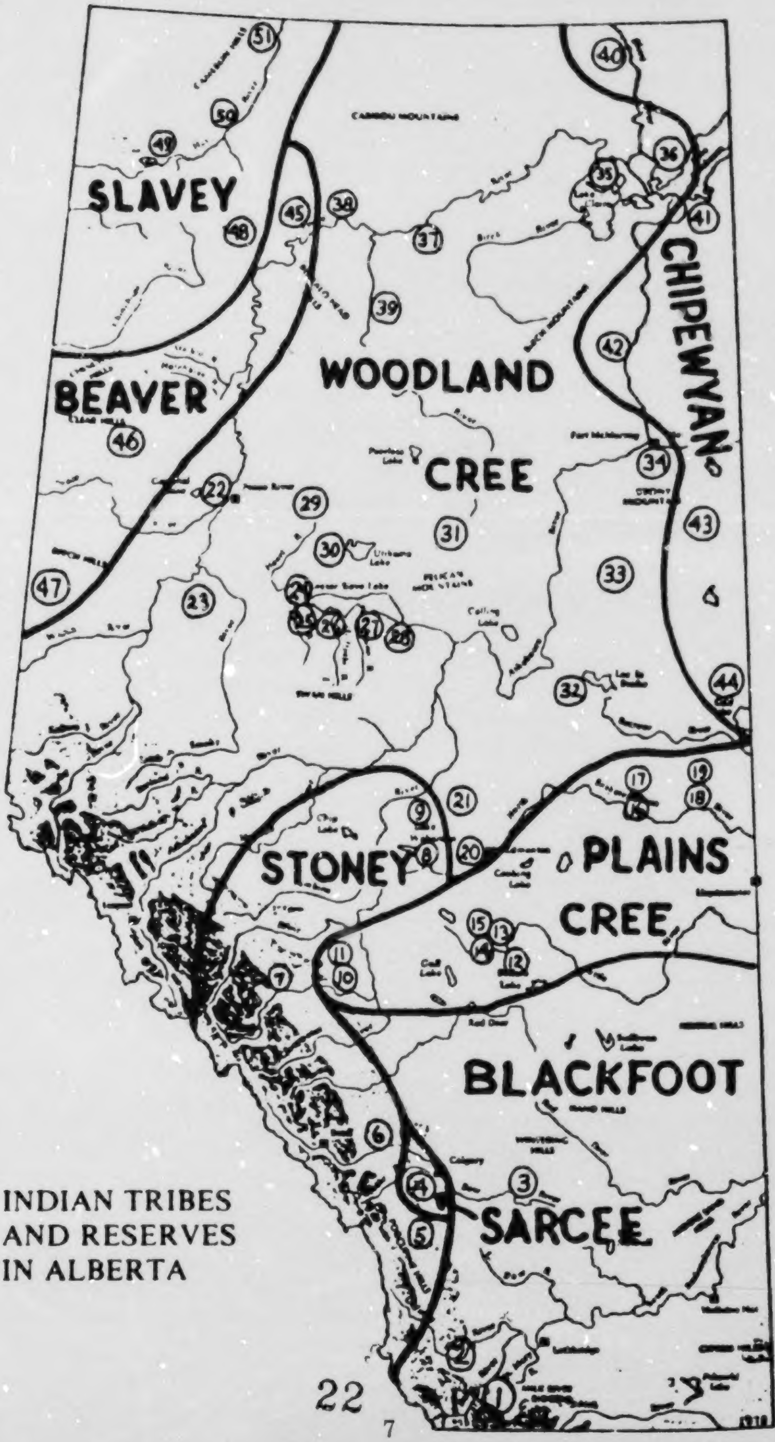
Explorers and Fur Traders

The dream of a Northwest Passage to the Far East had a strong attraction for British navigators and merchant adventurers during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Before the vain search for this passage via the western route was undertaken, John Merrick, an Englishman representing the Merchant Trading Company in Moscow, had asked the Tsar to sponsor an expedition for the same purpose by way of the eastern hemisphere. This enterprise was never sanctioned. But the adventure, like others that followed, led to such important results as the establishment of the first English colony of traders near Archangel and the founding of the Merchant Adventurers.

In 1610 Henry Hudson, under the auspices of the Muscovy Company, started his search for the short passage via North America. This expedition, like the one attempted by way of the eastern hemisphere, failed in its objective but did give the world knowledge of a great inland sea and river, both named after the discoverer.

> The results of both of these expeditions appear to have been beneficial to British commerce, though the importance of the discovery of the Hudson Bay was not at that time appreciated.
>
> (Thwaite, 1912, p. 18)

In 1619, Jens Munck, a Dane, was commissioned by the King of Denmark and the traders of Copenhagen to explore and colonize Hudson Bay and make it a Danish possession. After a year's experience on the northern seas, Munck returned home, with but two survivors, and



INDIAN TRIBES
AND RESERVES
IN ALBERTA

KEY TO RESERVES

Blackfoot

1. Blood
2. Peigan
3. Blackfoot

Sarcee

4. Sarcee

Stoney

5. Eden Valley
6. Stoney
7. Bighorn
8. Paul
9. Alexis

Plains Cree

10. Sunchild
11. O'Chiese
12. Montana
13. Samson
14. Ermineskin
15. Louis Bull
16. Saddle Lake
17. Goodfish Lake
18. Frog Lake
19. Kehiwin

Woodland Cree

20. Enoch
21. Alexander
22. Duncan
23. Sturgeon Lake
24. Grouard
25. Sucker Creek
26. Driftpile
27. Swan River
28. Sawridge
29. Lubicon Lake
30. Whitefish Lake
31. Wabasca
32. Beaver Lake
33. Heart Lake
34. McMurray
35. Cree
36. Cree
37. Little Red River
38. Tallcree
39. Tallcree

Chipewyan

40. Fitz/Smith
41. Chipewyan
42. Fort McKay
43. Janvier
44. Cold Lake

Beaver

45. Boyer River
46. Clear Hills
47. Horse Hills

Slavey

48. Upper Hay River
49. Upper Hay River
50. Upper Hay River
51. Upper Hay River

without having discovered either a Northwest Passage or a kingdom for his sponsors.

For almost half a century after the death of Munck (1629), little was heard of the Hudson Bay and the vast territory stretching from Manitoba to the Pacific. But while Charles II was still King of England (1639–1685), a royal commission from his court arrived from North America,

> accompanied by two Frenchmen, the younger of whom, Pierre Esprit Radisson, was already known in the New World as having brought 600,000 beaver skins to Quebec, the result of a single trip to the North. This astonishing fact had been chronicled with the wealth of detail usual . . . in those days, and naturally attracted the attention of . . . [the] monarch.
>
> (Thwaite, 1912, p. 20)

The time was therefore opportune for the French explorers, Radisson and Groseilliers, and for royal personages to engage in a profitable enterprise. Prince Rupert had already been won to the British cause (1670) and within twelve months the two Frenchmen, furnished with a ship at the King's request, began a voyage of discovery to Hudson Bay. Meanwhile, Prince Rupert had formed an organization known as 'The Gentlemen Adventurers of England trading to Hudson Bay.'

The first voyage of these men was so successful that before they started on a second, a Royal Charter had been applied for and was granted by King Charles, giving to the Hudson's Bay Company a monopoly of trade and profits for all time to come.

> So wide was the scope of the charter and so liberal was the wording that, as subsequent events proved, practically one–half of America was deeded away in utter ignorance of all that was to come, for the charter decreed that if trade should lead these adventurers away from the Hudson Bay where no other discoverers had been, they had a right to take the territory.
>
> (Thwaite, 1912, p. 21)

This land—now known as Saskatchewan and Alberta, together with a vast region to the north—was formerly known as the Northwest Territories. The first white men to settle in the northwest were the men of the Hudson's Bay and other trading companies.

> These companies founded trading posts throughout that great area extending from the boundary between Canada and the United States on the south, to Great Slave Lake and Mackenzie River on the north and as far east as Hudson Bay.
>
> (Hutchinson, 1918, p. 6)

ES24

In the years that followed, the company extended its possessions to Alaska and California. This period of expansion and suzerainty came to an end in 1870.

But before it came to an end, certain socioeconomic trends of historical significance were set in motion. Notable among these was the change that occurred in the old order with the coming of the Europeans. Many tribes acquiesced quietly to the invasion of their territories; others offered strong opposition. But whether they resisted or submitted, all paid a price for their contact with civilization, some even before they saw their first white man. Plagues, for example, often spread in advance of the European intrusion. The first to afflict the Indians was smallpox. An early writer describes its ravages:

> None of us had the least idea of the desolation this dreadful disease had done, until we went up the bank to the camp and looked into the tents, in many of which they were all dead, and the stench was horrid; those that remained had pitched their tents about 200 yards from them and were too weak to move away entirely.
>
> (Thompson, 1916, p. 321)

Though the deadliest, smallpox was not the only plague that afflicted the aborigines. Pulmonary infections, especially tuberculosis, also caused high mortality.

Equally destructive of aboriginal society, and remaining a concern, was alcohol. Unlike many other primitive societies, the Indians had no alcoholic beverages and, though an exaggeration, the claim that "from the earliest days of settlement they abandoned every restraint in their frenzy for the white man's firewater" (Jenness, 1932, p. 253) has a degree of validity.

Disease and alcohol demoralized and destroyed the Indians at a time when they needed all their energy to cope with the new conditions confronting them. With the coming of the European, the old order was completely changed.

Stone tools and weapons and cooking utensils of clay, skin, bark, and wood were replaced by tools and weapons of iron and utensils of metal. And once a tribe made these changes, it could not revert to the former condition because it had lost too many traditional skills. Consequently, any withdrawal of the trading posts upon which the Indian was dependent caused endless hardships.

Firearms, in particular, revolutionized the aboriginal way of life. Denys describes their impact upon hunting:

> With an arrow they killed only one Wild Goose; but with the shot of a gun they will kill five or six of them. With the arrow it was necessary to approach the animal closely: with the gun they kill an animal from a distance with a bullet or two.
>
> (Denys, 1908, p. 443)

But this was not the most dramatic result of the introduction of firearms. The gun was superior for warfare and the tribes that first acquired the new weapon employed it against their neighbors. So the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries were marked by constant periods of internecine strife.

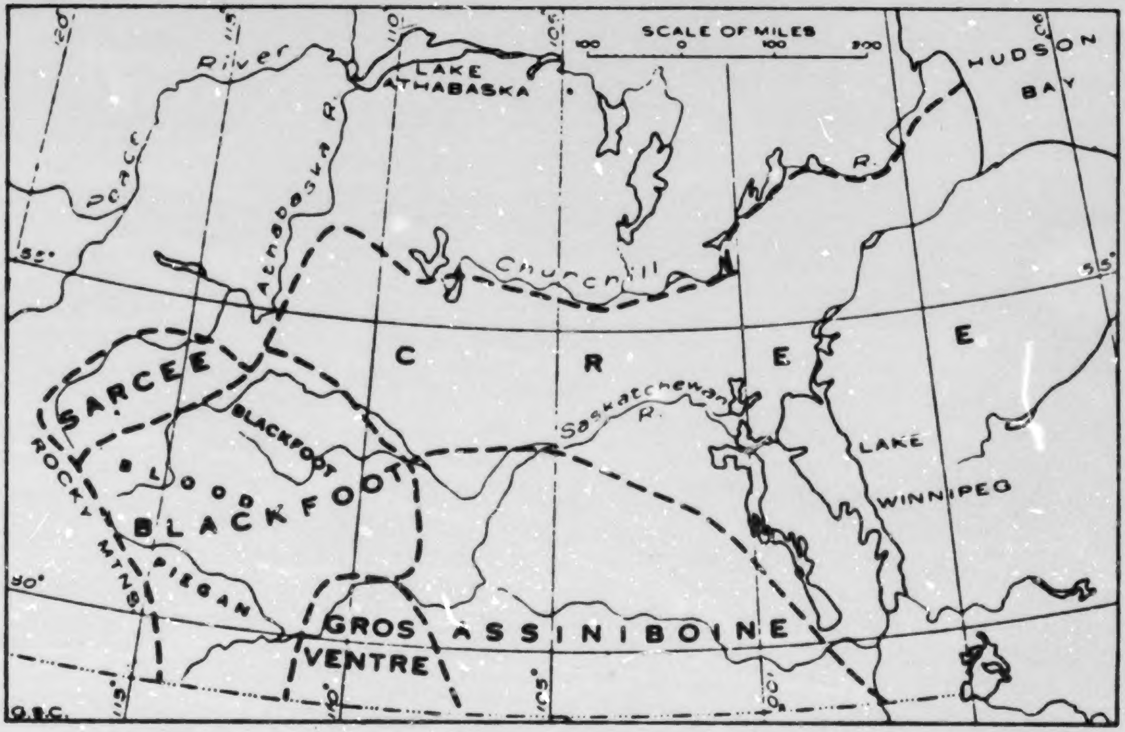
The demand for furs also left its mark on Indian life. Previously, the Indian paid litle attention to the small, fur-bearing animals but since their pelts could now be exchanged for steel tools, guns, ammunition, and other items of civilization, they were trapped intensively. When indigenous areas were depleted the aboriginals expanded into new areas, often invading the territories of their neighbors and, at times, eventually displacing the original inhabitants. The excerpt below illustrates this point.

> Within a few years, the tribes close to the Hudson Bay learned to depend upon trade goods, and began to penetrate westward in search of furs to use for barter. The Crees and Assiniboines moved up the North Saskatchewan River to the mountains, driving the poorly-armed Sarcee and Blackfoot tribes south and the Beavers north to Peace River. Farther north, the Chipewyans entered the north-eastern corner of Alberta, sending the defenceless Beavers back towards the mountains.
>
> (Dempsey, 1978, p. 6)

Contact with Europeans dramatically changed the economic conditions in every part of the Dominion, though the changes did not always occur as suddenly as they did on the prairies. Throughout the country, tribes were no longer self-sufficient; all were inextricably enmeshed in an imposed economic system.

Paralleling the economic revolution was a complete breaking down of the old social order, of the jurisprudence systems, government, and religion on which their societies were based. Trapping, which dispersed family units for three-fourths of the year, weakened the strong community spirit engendered by common settlements and co-operative activities. On the plains, where trapping was never of any significance, similar dislocations occurred. When there were no longer any buffalo to hunt and when raids on neighboring tribes were banned, the military organizations became useless and the cohesiveness produced by the camaraderie was seriously undermined.

Economically and socially, then, the Indians were dissociated from their traditional anchors at the very time their population was being decimated by formerly unknown diseases. Perhaps such results from contact with Europeans, given their mercantilistic practices and imperialistic designs, was inevitable. Yet it would seem that the exercise



APPROXIMATE DISTRIBUTION OF THE PLAINS' TRIBES IN 1725 A.D.

of some foresight in developing educational agencies to facilitate transition to the new socioeconomic conditions would have prevented much hardship and suffering. Nothing, of course, was initially done in this direction. Rather, the political evolution of the Northwest Territories was such that it only compounded the challenges and created new problems for the Indians as they were "brushed to one side . . . with feelings of mingled pity and contempt" (Jenness, 1932, p. 258).

Jurisdictional Transfer and Political Evolution of the Northwest Territories

The Company's virtually unlimited control over the territories ended in 1870. In that year the British Government transferred Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories from the Hudson's Bay Company to Canada (de Smet, 1905, p. 1124). From that year until 1905 the area presently known as Alberta formed part of the Northwest Territories of the Dominion of Canada. During the intervening years, political institutions evolved from a type of 'personal rule' to a representative and, finally, fully responsible government. In the period of personal rule, 1870 to 1876, lieutenant governors of Manitoba governed the territories west and north of Manitoba. They exercised autocratic powers limited, initially, by the Secretary of State for the provinces, and after 1873, by directions from the Minister of the Interior. To assist in the administration of the provinces, a Northwest Council was appointed by the Dominion government. An important landmark in the annals of the Canadian West was the passage of the Northwest Territories Act in 1875. In this Act, provision was made for a resident lieutenant governor and for a council, nominative at first, to become, when settlement of the territories warranted, partly elective. This council, which held its first session in 1877 and its last in 1887, constituted a form of government similar to that of a crown colony. Beginning in 1881—with the election of a member from the Lorne district—the Northwest Council gradually changed from an appointed council to an elected assembly. The population growth and the increasing number of elected members made the transition to a legislative assembly possible. At the same time the institution of a public school system and the establishment of municipalities were preparing the people of the territories to assume the responsibilities associated with self-government; the crushing of the Métis uprising (which could have been avoided) established security in the country; and the construction of the intercontinental railroad prepared the way for the arrival of new settlers.

The institution of the legislative assembly was accomplished in 1888. At this time, the Lieutenant Governor, who had himself presided over the Northwest Council, gave place to a speaker chosen by the assembly from among their own members. Four elected members were appointed by the Lieutenant Governor to act as advisors on financial matters. This council and the nature of its functions became the subject of acrimonious debate in 1889 and 1890. The majority of the assembly found themselves at variance with the Lieutenant Governor who was unwilling to permit the appointed council the right to advise on matters pertaining to the expenditure of Dominion grants. The assembly's struggle to gain control of all financial matters developed into a fight to make the advisory council responsible to the assembly. The subsequent victory for the assembly won responsible government for the Territories—a right that was formally conceded by the Federal Government in 1897.

The years between 1897 and 1905 witnessed the final stage of political evolution in the Territories. Despite the fact that responsible government was obtained, the Territorial Government still lacked certain powers enjoyed by autonomous units in many English-speaking communities. In the early years of the twentieth century, the people of the Territories became keenly aware of the limitations of territorial status and they began demanding provincial status. The Federal Government responded to the situation by granting political autonomy to the people concerned. And so in 1905, Alberta was officially recognized as a province of the Dominion of Canada. With this recognition, franchised propertied males (predominantly Caucasian) acquired the right, through elected representatives, to participate in the determination of their political, economic, and social destinies.

The Indians, on the other hand, did not share in the benefits that came with responsible government and provincial autonomy. From a historical perspective, their situation regressed. Initially the plains Indians had developed a relatively high level of grassroots political structure within which the power of the much-vaunted chief was basically tenuous. Father de Smet makes some insightful comments on this topic:

> Each nation is divided into different bands or tribes, and each tribe counts several villages. Every village has its chief, to whom they submit in proportion to the respect or terror which his personal qualities inspire. The power of a chief is sometimes merely nominal; sometimes, also, his authority is absolute. . . . Courage, address, and an enterprising spirit may elevate every warrior to the highest honors, especially if his father or an uncle enjoyed the dignity of a chief before him, and he has a numerous family ready to maintain his authority and avenge his quarrels. Yet when the seniors and warriors have installed him . . . it must not be supposed

> that he, on this account, arrogates to himself the least exterior appearance of rank or dignity. He is too well aware that his rank hangs by a frail thread, which may quite easily be broken. He must gain the confidence of his uncertain subjects or retain them by fear. A great many families are better off than the chief; dress better, are richer in arms, horses and other possessions.
>
> (de Smet, 1905, pp. 1124–1125)

But with the arrival and subsequent entrenchment of the white man, the chiefs became chiefs in name only, for the real authority had passed from their hands. And as the Europeans consolidated their control over the territories, the loosely-organized tribal democratic structure was destroyed, leaving the Indians economically, socially, and politically powerless. That this condition prevailed well into the twentieth century is evidenced by the fact that at least until 1950 government relationships with the Indians were of a custodial and protective nature and operated within a repressive atmosphere.

Land, Colonization, and Settlement of Aboriginal Rights

One of the tasks of successive governments of Canada has been the settlement of the western prairies. Initially, this was encouraged by free land grants to settlers, colonization companies, and railroad corporations. In 1897, grants to railways and colonization companies were discontinued. Land was now reserved for settlers.

The first major step in the settlement of the prairies was the adoption of a system of survey. Numerous survey parties were placed in the field following the transfer of Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories from the Hudson's Bay Company in 1870. Dominion lands were laid out in townships containing thirty-six sections of one square mile each, together with road allowances of one chain and fifty links between townships and sections.

Disposal of surveyed land came under the jurisdiction of the Dominion Lands Office—organized in 1871. The first regulations respecting this disposal were issued on April 25, 1871.

> Under these regulations, unappropriated, surveyed Crown lands were offered for sale at $1.00 per acre, limited to 640 acres to any one person. Pre-emption and homestead rights were established and provision made for the first railway subsidy in the Northwest Territories.
>
> (Blue, 1924, p. 195)

The second key development that gave great impetus to immigration and settlement was the completion of the Dawson Route and the North

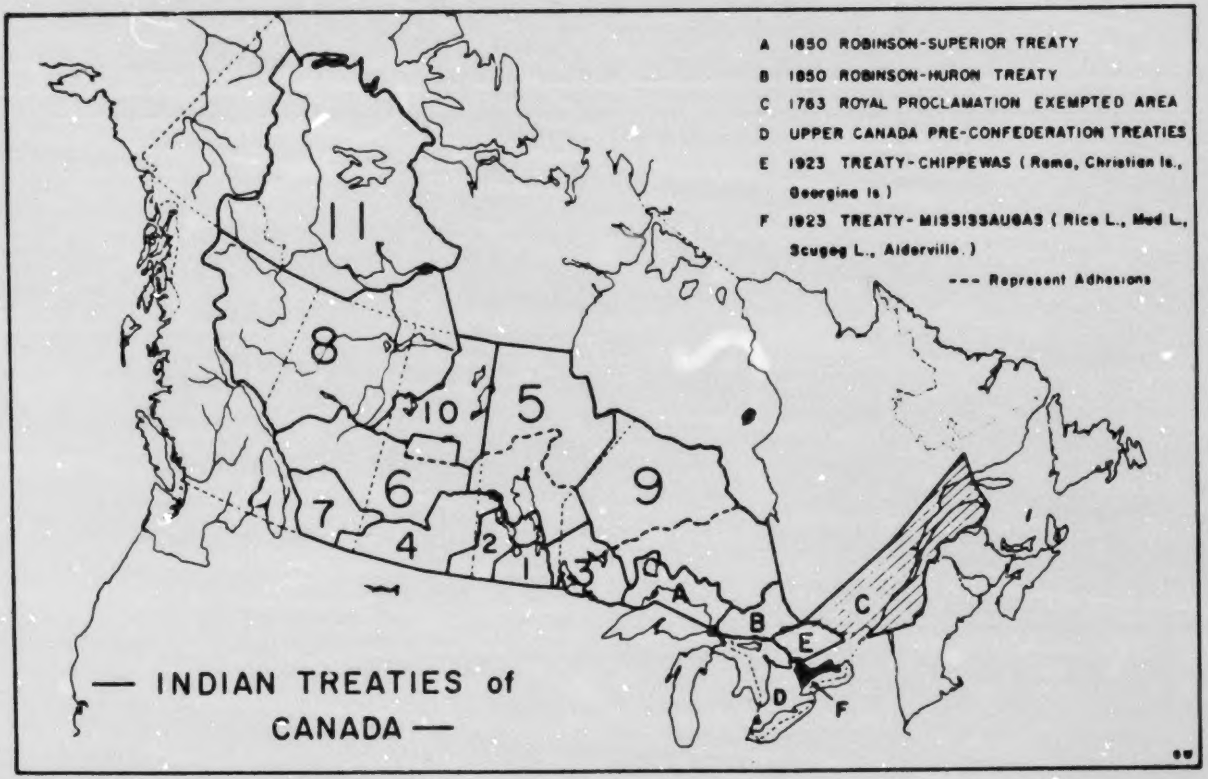
Pacific Railway in 1872. But for this to be successful on a large scale there was a need for a trans–Canada railway. This was slow in coming. Not until 1883 did the main line reach Calgary. Once this was accomplished, extensions soon followed. In 1885 the Alberta Railway and Coal Company built a line (107 miles) from Dunmore, on the mainline of the Canadian Pacific Railway, to Lethbridge. Five years later the track was extended to the International Boundary Line at Coutts and shortly afterwards an extension was made by this company to Cardston, 67 miles away (Diller, 1922, pp. 114–122). In 1897 this line was extended westward through the Crowsnest Pass to connect with the Canadian Pacific Railway extensions in southern British Columbia.

The railway from Calgary to Edmonton was completed in 1891 by the Calgary and Edmonton Railway Company. Next year the same company built a railway south to MacLeod. For the next fifteen years there was little railway building in the province, but as settlers began coming in larger numbers at the beginning of the century, railways were extended year by year.

But this saga of Western Canadian history, repeatedly applauded as a mark of progress, was not without attendant injustices. As long as the Indians, as guides, teachers of survival, trappers, and hunters served the interests of the trading companies, their territorial inheritance was not threatened. In fact, a concerted effort was made to retain their goodwill. The Hudson's Bay Company, for example, stressed the need for equitable treatment of the Indian population:

> 40th. That the Indians be treated with kindness and indulgence, and mild and conciliatory means resorted to in order to encourage industry, repress vice, and inculcate morality; that the use of spirituous liquors be gradually discontinued in the very few districts in which it is yet indispensable; and that the Indians be liberally supplied with requisite necessaries, particularly with articles of ammunition whether they have a means of paying for it or not, and that no gentleman in charge of district or post be at liberty to alter the standards or usual mode of trade with the Indians, except by special permission of the council.
>
> (Hudson's Bay Company, 1857, p. 368)

As noted earlier, in the period before Manitoba was admitted into the Confederation, a number of important changes occurred in the northwest. Notably, increased European settlement and the transfer of the territories to the Dominion brought to an end the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly over trade. The temporary absence of a central authority resulted in a weakening of law and order. Added to this was the critical depletion of buffalo herds. Combined with the spread of European diseases, these events put the Indians in a precarious position.


A 1850 ROBINSON-SUPERIOR TREATY
B 1850 ROBINSON-HURON TREATY
C 1763 ROYAL PROCLAMATION EXEMPTED AREA
D UPPER CANADA PRE-CONFEDERATION TREATIES
E 1923 TREATY-CHIPPEWAS (Rama, Christian Is., Georgina Is)
F 1923 TREATY-MISSISSAUGAS (Rice L., Mud L., Scugog L., Alderville.)
--- Represent Adhesions
11
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— INDIAN TREATIES of CANADA —

Shortly after the arrival of the Europeans, the Indians realized that the white men would want to acquire their lands. Knowledge of treaties, broken treaties, wars, and more treaties in the American west was cause enough to make them apprehensive. Consequently, they were wary of permitting settlers to establish residence until the land issue was settled. The following view, expressed by several bands, illustrates this point:

> We believe what you tell us when you say that, in your land, the Indians have always been treated with clemency and justice . . . but do not bring settlers and surveyors amongst us, to measure and occupy our lands, until a clear understanding has been arrived at, as to what our relations are to be in the time to come.
>
> (Stanely, 1961, p. 204)

Government policy was to open the prairies for White settlement after Indian territorial rights had been extinguished by treaty. To this end, W. M. Simpson was appointed Treaty Commissioner in 1871 and met in June of that year with about 1,000 Indians to negotiate the first treaty in the prairies. In his address to this group he emphasized the positive features of the Government's concept of the reserve system. However, he was quick to add that, "irrespective of whether the treaty offered by the government was accepted or rejected by the Indians, the territory in question would be subject to white settlement" (Cumming & Mackenberg, 1972, p. 122). Evidently, the choice the Indians had was limited.

After eight days of negotiating, Treaty No. 1 was concluded. Under its terms, every Indian family of five persons was to receive 160 acres of land, an initial payment of $3 per person, and an annual annuity of $15 per family, payable in cash or goods. Provisions were also made for the control of liquor traffic and the establishment of schools on the reserve.

The procedures and strategies utilized in negotiating Treaty No. 1 were followed by the Government in negotiating subsequent treaties in the Northwest Territories and later, the provinces. Between 1871 and 1923, eleven distinct treaties were concluded, encompassing an area including almost all of northern Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and parts of British Columbia, the Northwest Territories and the Yukon. (See map on the previous page.)

Provisions of the Treaties

Monetary considerations varied amongst the eleven treaties:

32

> In two cases it amounted to $3 for each man, woman, and child (Treaties 1 and 2); in one case (Treaty 5) it was $5; in another (Treaty 9) it was $8 and in three cases (Treaties 3, 6, and 7) it was $12.
>
> (Harper, 1947, pp. 140–141)

In addition to these cash payments given at the formal signing of the treaties, provision was made for the payment of an annuity in perpetuity to each member of the signatory band.

Another feature of the treaties was the establishment of reserve lands. (A map and key to the reserves established in Alberta are included.) In Treaty Nos. 1, 2, 5, and 8, the size of the reserves was an area sufficient to allow each family of five 160 acres and a lesser amount to smaller families. In Treaties 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, and 11, the standard was one square mile of land per family of five. In all the treaties the Government retained the right to deal with any settlers on reserve land to protect the reservations from possible White encroachment. Each treaty also contained a provision that the Government establish and maintain schools for the education of Indian children on the reserves.

Economic Developments in the Territories

E. H. Oliver, Professor of History at the University of Saskatchewan, presents the following description of conditions in the early days of the Territories:

> It is not known how many people lived in the Hudson Bay territory at the time (1870) when the transfer to Canada took place. The white inhabitants were greatly outnumbered by the Indians, of whom there were probably less than 35,000, and the majority of whites were traders and hunters. Two centuries of Hudson Bay rule had done nothing for tillage, and, apart from a certain concentration of interest at the company's posts, nothing for social life. It had established well-defined routes over the plains, and accustomed the Indian to the presence of the white trader, and had maintained a measure of order. All this was not without significance. But agriculture and surveyed lands, an educational system, municipal and judicial institutions constituted no part of the company's legacy to the Dominion. The entire economic basis of the country had to be changed and its whole political structure created.
>
> (Oliver, 1914, pp. 147–148)

This was the situation in 1870. Soon afterwards, however, improved transportation facilitated and encouraged immigration. In fact, "settlement proceeded so rapidly that it was only thirty-five years later that parts of the North West Territories were organized into two new provinces—Alberta and Saskatchewan" (Sparby, 1958, p. 7). Economic growth followed. For example, while in 1856 there were only 8,806 acres of land under cultivation in the entire area now occupied by the three provinces, 1887 crop returns from 168 townships showed 76,384 acres under cultivation, viz.: wheat, 33,354 acres; oats, 29,416 acres; barley, 8,244; roots, 5,370 acres; new lands broken, 16,596 acres. Production returns for 1901 show that Albertan soil produced 857,714 bushels of spring wheat, 82,418 bushels of winter wheat, 4,253,284 bushels of oats, and 442,381 bushels of barley (Thwaite, 1912, p. 103).

Comparable developments occurred in the livestock industry.

> As soon as the Indians were placed upon their reserves the country was open for the establishment of the cattle industry. A number of cattle ranches quickly followed, such as the Cochrane, Bar V, Oxley, Circle, Waldron, Quorn—names that recall the glorious days of the cattle kings to the old-timers of southern Alberta. The land regulations were revised . . . to provide for grazing leases at low rates for large areas of government lands.
>
> (Blue, 1924, p. 321)

By 1884 the ranching industry was fully established in southern Alberta. Officers of the Department of the Interior estimated that there were 104,000 cattle on the leased lands of Alberta, besides 11,000 more owned by non-leaseholders. In addition, there was a large number owned by homesteaders not included in the estimate.

Exports of cattle to Britain began in 1887. Three years later similar trade with British Columbia was initiated. The blossoming mining industry in British Columbia and the completion of the Crowsnest Pass Railway opened markets for Alberta beef that did not qualify for the eastern market.

Another phase of economic growth that merits mention is the beginning and development of the horse industry. The native horse of the prairies was the Indian pony used by the Indians to hunt buffalo. But these, along with the few other horses in the west, were not of the well-bred variety. In fact, prior to the coming of the North West Mounted Police in 1874, very limited numbers of good horses were to be found in the West. Because horses from Eastern Canada proved more suitable for the work of the police, the government established farms in connection with police forts to breed horses for the Police Force. Additional momentum was given the industry in the early eighties when Albertans became enthusiastic about breeding horses for the British Army. But the first great impetus to the horse industry in Alberta came with the stream of immigration that began in 1898. From that time to 1919 the supply of good horses for farm and dray work seldom exceeded the demand.

Two other agricultural activities which began in the early eighties are the sheep and swine industries. The first flocks of sheep were established on the open ranges of southern Alberta and from this area the first wool shipment, containing 70,000 pounds, was made in 1884. By 1887 it was estimated that there were 18,000 sheep in the territories, 5,000 of which were in Alberta.

Unlike the rapid growth of sheep and cattle ranching, the swine industry was slow to develop in Alberta. It did not appeal to the early settlers as much as the cattle and sheep enterprises, and no serious effort was made to produce enough to establish an export trade. For years the supply of pork in the northwest was below demand. The government made repeated attempts to set the industry on a better footing by distributing, on advantageous terms, purebred stock to the farmers. Up to 1903 the Government had distributed 681 purebred sows and 122 purebred boars in the Territories. By that year progress was evidenced in this industry: eighteen packing houses were in operation.

Other notable industries which can be traced back to the northwest era are mining and those industries associated with oil and natural gas. Though the earliest discovery of coal in Alberta is shown on Arrowsmith's maps of 1801 and 1811, it was not until the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway that coal mining gained commercial importance. Indicative of the growth of the industry is the production increase from 311,450 tons in 1900 to 931,917 tons in 1905.

With regard to natural gas and oil, developments did not follow the pattern of the coal industry. Though knowledge of the presence of these resources in the territories dates back to 1823, little was done to exploit their potential until the second decade of the twentieth century.

Population and Immigration to 1905

The population increase in the Northwest Territories varied from decade to decade. Slow in the early part of the territorial period, the flow of immigrants increased markedly in the latter years of territorial suzerainty. No demographic figures, however, can be quoted until 1881—the year the first census of the Northwest Territories was taken. At that time the population comprised 6,000 Whites and 50,000 Natives. The latter figure included the people of mixed blood—the Métis. In the part of the Territories that is now Alberta, the population was 18,075. The census of 1891 and 1901 showed that the respective populations were 25,277 and 73,022. One year after Alberta was granted provincial status (1906), the population had increased to 185,412 (*Canada Year Book*, 1950, pp. 148–165).

Cultural Patterns

Despite the fact that the Indians and, to a lesser degree, the Métis, were ravaged by diseases, population increased rapidly in the Territories. This increase was due principally to immigration. Of the total immigrant group, half were of British origin (*Alberta Facts & Figures*, 1910, p. 25). These came from three main regions—Eastern Canada, the United States, and the British Isles. Being a majority group, they exerted a dominant influence in shaping the emerging social institutions. Those from Eastern Canada, besides having the advantage of the English language, formal education, and legal citizenship, had social experience in the New World. It is not surprising that many of them became leaders in the new society. In education, for example, they were largely responsible for establishing co–educational, non–sectarian public schools. Immigrants from the United States were also influential in moulding cultural patterns. In the economic sphere they introduced ranching, dry farming, irrigation and other agricultural methods.

In the early period—the fur trade era—the French Canadians played an important role in shaping the educational life of the Territories. But with the coming of the railroad and the development of farming, the French segment of the population declined. With this came a corresponding decline in the cultural influence of the French Canadians. Yet they adhered strongly to their own traditions and, under the guidance of the Church leaders, settled 'en bloc' and preserved their cultural patterns.

In the Territories the trend in religious patterns was towards diversity. The tide of immigrants that came in the later Territorial period was predominantly Protestant. However, many of the people of Alberta were also non–Protestant, non–British, and non–American. This is shown by the census of 1891 and 1901 as presented in Table 1 (*Canada Year Book*, 1950, p. 11).

When the small White population was evenly divided into two major religious groups, the Northwest Council placed education under a dual–type sectarian control. But as the Protestant part of the population expanded and broke up into numerous sects, dual–sectarian control was no longer desirable. The changes that ensued will be considered later.

Education in the Territories

Until 1870 the economic and social life of the Northwest Territories reflected the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company whose principal motive was profit in fur trading. And as long as the company had

Table 1
Population by Religious Denomination 1891, 1901

Religion	*1891*	*1901*
Anglicans	4,817	9,634
Baptists	543	3,010
Congregationalists	48	364
Greek Church		4,633
Jews	12	252
Lutherans	816	5,925
Mennonites		522
Methodists	2,755	10,125
Mormons		3,212
Presbyterians	4,108	11,597
Roman Catholics	6,034	15,464
Salvation Army	59	90
All Others	493	4,304
Unspecified	4,560	3,187

complete control over the territory, little was done, particularly before 1840, to encourage the establishment of educational institutions. Company officials were content to let private agencies—church mission schools—attempt to meet the educational needs of the sparsely settled territories.

From 1840 onward, however, the Hudson's Bay Company promoted missionary work. The impulse behind this apparent altruism was probably found in the voice of criticism rising in England regarding the record of overseas trading companies (Martin, 1849). Another possible reason was that,

> The Company had been forced to abandon some of its trading posts in areas overrun by warring Indian tribes. A minimum of astuteness was required for company officials to see that any abatement of Indian fighting temper would be likely to stimulate fur trading.
>
> (Goresky, 1944, p. 2)

The first missionaries to come to the part of the Territories that is now Alberta were from the Wesleyan Methodist and Roman Catholic churches. In the beginning their efforts were centered mainly in the central and northern parts, chiefly in the area tributary to Fort Edmonton. Reverend R. Rundle was the first Methodist missionary who, between the years 1840 and 1848, made numerous trips out of Fort Edmonton to Indian encampments and trading posts. The first Catholic missionary was Reverend Thibault who established a mission at Lac Ste. Anne in 1842. Missionaries from the Church of England were also active, though it was not until 1875 that one of their members, Reverend W. Newton, arrived in Fort Edmonton.

The best known missionaries, however, were Father Lacombe and John McDougall. Their activities were so broad that their influence extended beyond the realm of their respective churches. Like the other early missionaries, Lacombe and McDougall travelled about the country to contact the Indians. In time, more or less permanent mission posts were established. The earliest Catholic mission was established at Lac Ste. Anne but the most famous was founded by Father Lacombe at St. Albert in 1861. His work at this mission and in other parts of present-day Alberta, along with the work of other representatives of the Catholic church, was of marked significance to the historical development of the Territories.

Indian Education and Territorial Treaties

With the signing of Treaty No. 1, the first of the "numbered" treaties, on August 3, 1871 at Lower Fort Garry, the first mention of education services for Indian children is made. The clause, "Her Majesty agrees to maintain a school on each reserve hereby made whenever the Indians of the reserve should desire it" (Canada, Treaties Nos. 1 and 2, 1957, p. 4) sets the beginning for a series of treaty inclusions which committed the Federal Government and Indian people to provisions of educational services on the reserves. An identical clause was contained in Treaty No. 2 signed at Manitoba Post on August 21, 1871.

In Treaty No. 3, signed on October 3, 1873 at the Northwest Angle of Lake of the Woods, the appropriate clause had already varied. The reworded clause stated:

> And further, Her Majesty agrees to maintain schools for instruction in such reserves hereby made as to Her Government of Her Dominion of Canada may seem advisable whenever the Indians of the reserve shall desire it.
>
> (*Canada, Treaty No. 3*, 1966, p. 5)

By the time Treaty No. 4 was concluded, on September 15th and 21st, 1874, the wording of this clause had again changed:

> Further, Her Majesty agrees to maintain a school in the reserve allotted to each Band as soon as they settle on said reserve and are prepared for a teacher.
>
> (*Canada, Treaty No. 4*, 1966, p. 7)

When Treaty No. 5 was concluded at Beren's River on September 20, 1875 and Norway House on September 24, 1875, the wording had reverted to that found in the appropriate clause of Treaty No. 3. However, included in the provisions detailing the land holdings of the reserves to be established under this treaty was the stipulation that certain lands be set aside that,

> Her Majesty, or Her Successors, may in Her good pleasure, see fit to grant to the Mission established at or near Beren's River by the Methodist Church of Canada [land] for a church, school-house, parsonage, burial farm, or other mission purposes.
>
> (*Canada, Treaty No. 5*, 1969, p. 5)

This is the first acknowledgement of the involvement of the Church in the education of the Indian children and of a commitment of Indian lands to a Church organization for the purpose of providing such services.

Treaty No. 6, signed on August 28, 1376 at Fort Carlton and September 9 at Fort Pitt reiterated the wording of the clause which had appeared in Treaties No. 3 and No. 5.

By the time Treaty No. 7 was concluded at the Crossing on September 22, 1877, the wording of the educational clause was significantly changed. In this treaty, it was stated that:

> Further, Her Majesty agrees to pay the salary of such teachers to instruct the children of said Indians as Her Government of Canada may seem advisable, when said Indians are settled on their Reserves and shall desire teachers.
>
> (*Canada, Treaty No. 7*, 1966, p. 5)

Almost identical wording was used in Treaty No. 8—concluded on June 21, 1899 at Slave Lake.

The most comprehensive wording was used in the James Bay Treaty. In this Treaty, it was agreed that:

> His Majesty agrees to pay such salaries of teachers to instruct the children of said Indians, and also to provide such school buildings and educational equipment as may seem advisable to His Majesty's Government of Canada.
>
> (*Canada, Treaty No. 9*, 1964, p. 21)

In Treaty No. 10, signed on August 28, 1907, this specificity was deleted and replaced by the all-encompassing clause that,

> His Majesty agrees to make such provisions as may from time to time be deemed advisable for the education of Indian children.
>
> (*Canada, Treaty No. 10*, 1966, p. 12)

Fifteen years later, the next and final treaty reverted back to the meagre stipulation found in the relevant clause of Treaty No. 7. This treaty, Treaty No. 11, was signed on June 27, 1921, concluding a process begun 250 years earlier.

The Educational Implications of Political Evolution in the Territories

During the first five years that followed the transfer of the Territories from the Hudson's Bay Company to the Dominion of Canada, the governors—who passed ordinances and were responsible for establishing institutions in the northwest—were content to let the church missionary schools (as in the Hudson's Bay era) try to meet the educational needs of the sparse population. Until this time—one characterized by Company or personal rule—no consideration was given to establishing a public school system. In fact, the beginning of a public school system was closely related to the development of representative political institutions. For example, the North West Territories Act of 1875, besides preparing the way for the attainment of representative government, also contained an important section for the organization of schools.

> When and so soon as any system of taxation shall be adopted in any district, or portion of the North West Territories, the Lieutenant Governor by and with the consent of the Council or Assembly, as the case may be, shall pass all necessary ordinances in respect to education but it shall therein be provided that a majority of ratepayers of any district or portion of the Northwest Territories or any lesser portion or subdivision thereof, by whatevername the same be known, may establish such schools therein as they may think fit, and make the necessary assessment and collection of taxes therefor; and further that the minority of ratepayers therein, and that, in such latter case, the ratepayers establishing such Protestant or Roman Catholic separate schools shall be liable only to assessments of such rates as they impose upon themselves thereof.
>
> (*Statutes of Canada*, 1875, p. 38)

Nine years later the Council took advantage of the enabling legislation to pass an ordinance setting up a public school system. The Ordinance (1884) provided for the establishment of school districts and the election of school boards to administer these units. Curriculum, inspection of schools, and certification of teachers were the responsibilities of a Board of Education appointed by the Lieutenant Governor. Since the board consisted of two sections, Catholic and Protestant, with each section responsible for its own schools, a dual system of denominational control resulted.

The next major educational change paralleled the Territories' success in obtaining responsible government. This was to be expected since the members of the Northwest Assembly, who were instrumental in accomplishing responsible government, also formed the vanguard in the struggle for educational reform. F. Oliver of Edmonton, J. Ross of Moose Jaw, and F. W. G. Haultain of MacLeod were the principals who supported the movement to give elected representatives the right to control education. Under Haultain's leadership the two sections of the Board of Education were abolished in favor of unified control by a Council of Public Instruction. This Council was composed of the Executive Committee and four members appointed by the Lieutenant Governor (two Protestants and two Catholics).

The new Ordinance of 1892 ensured that all public schools were to be controlled by the Government. All schools were to follow the same curriculum, with the exception of religious instruction (after 3:30 p.m.) which was left to the discretion of the local boards. Training and certification of teachers came under the jurisdiction of a united administrative agency and the dual system of school inspection was replaced by one set of inspectors. The right to establish separate schools (Protestant or Catholic) was retained but, as noted above, these were subject to standardized regulations. All of these developments facilitated the trend towards uniformity and secularization—a trend that culminated in the Haultain School Ordinance of 1901 which provided for the establishment of a Territorial Department of Education to supervise schools. Hence, the recently established responsible government had consolidated its control over public education.

Political, Sociocultural, and Economic Developments and Their Influence on Education

Although itinerant missionaries from Assiniboia and Eastern Canada began to teach some of the Indian, half-breed, and White children residing in the Territories in the early 1840s, it was not until the 1860s that schooling was institutionalized. The first school doing regular work in the area:

> Was established in 1862 at Fort Edmonton where Father Lacombe placed Brother C. Scollen in charge of twenty-odd children of English and Scottish clerks and Métis labourers.
>
> (Lupul, 1970, p. 255)

The school continued sporadically until 1868.

But, despite the efforts and sacrifices of the religious educational pioneers, results, by modern standards, were not impressive. The map on page 28 indicating where schools were established in Western Canada before 1873 shows that there were only six formal public centers in present day Alberta. This was largely a consequence of social and economic conditions.

> The isolation, remoteness, and great distances increased one's helplessness in the pathetic struggle against severe winters, grasshoppers, prairie fires, floods and the frequent threat of civil unrest.
>
> [Further] . . . population growth was either small or . . . unpredictable. Consequently, the financial base of education too was either small or uncertain or both. And the potential value of schooling was doubtful where mastery of Nature's secrets, rather than the appointments of civilization, was the great prerequisite.
>
> (Lupul, 1970, p. 243)

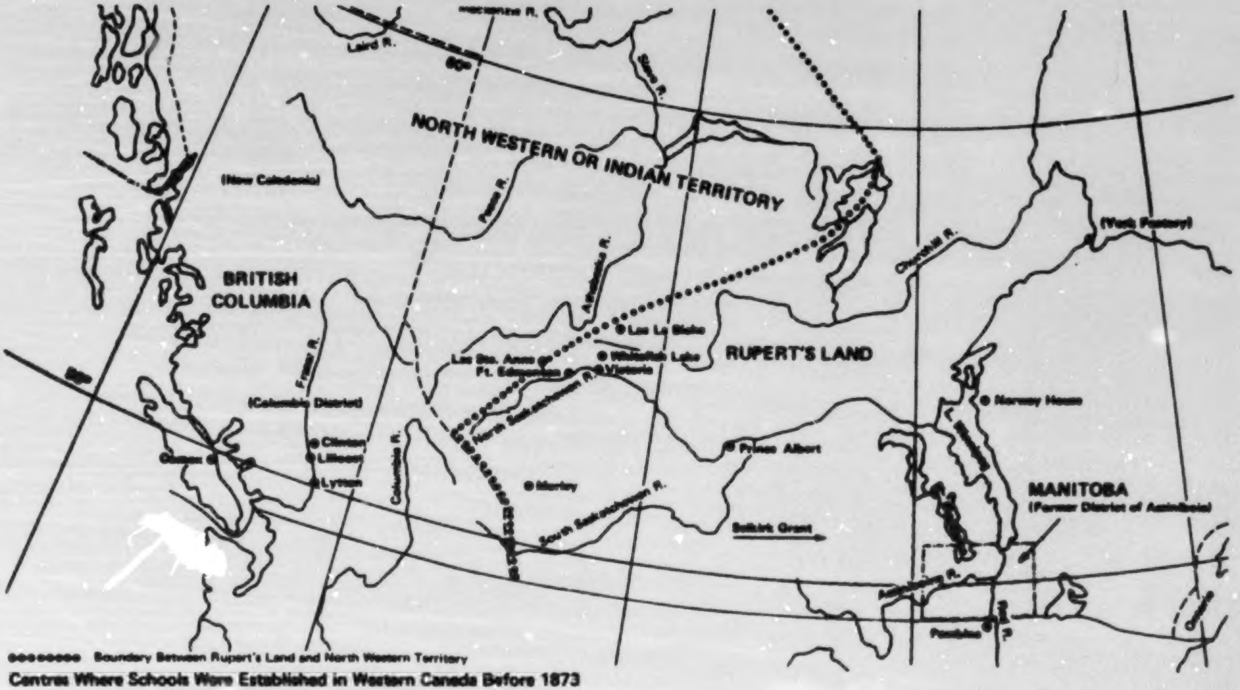
For children life was severe; yet it was tempered by moments of feasting and exciting diversions. The two annual Métis buffalo hunts with their dangers and excitement were typical of the rewards of life. "By comparison school was dull" (Lupul, 1970, p. 243). Those that did attend school were not scholars of a conventional type.

> Many of them wore deerskin garments and leggings, and carried lumps of pemican or dried meat in their pockets as dainties. At the sound of the voyageurs' songs or cheers in autumn, they flew like arrows from their bows out to the bank to welcome the brigade home. When gunshot signals arose from the southern bank, they rushed to see what stranger would return in the boat sent across from the Fort. They were wild as hares.
>
> (Hughes, 1920, p. 88)

Schools were often kept open with great difficulty and were frequently closed during the winter months. Without compulsory school laws, attendance was irregular—one of the most frequent complaints in the early school reports.

> At Nanaimo in 1869, only twenty-six of the one hundred and forty-two children, aged five to fifteen, were in school, with many of the older boys employed in the coal works.
>
> (Lupul, 1970, p. 257)

Such was the general state of education in the Territories prior to the passage of the Northwest Territories Act. The passage of the Act—particularly Section 11— proved to be of considerable importance in the development of the educational systems in Saskatchewan and Alberta.



Centres where schools were established in Western Canada before 1873.

Of key significance was that it established three basic organizational principles. These were: (1) over-all provincial control of education; (2) local administration of district schools; and (3) separate school privileges for religious minorities.

The 1875 Act appeared to have provided a working basis for a school system. But an electoral district must, according to the Act, contain one thousand inhabitants, not including aliens and unenfranchised Indians, to one thousand square miles, and at that time there was no region that could meet these requirements. Until electoral districts could be established, financial assistance could be obtained only by having it included in the amount voted each year by the Federal Government to the Territories for educational purposes. The money received by the Council of the Territories (after the Ordinance of 1879) was used to pay one-half the teacher's salary at schools with a minimum attendance of fifteen pupils. A small amount was also awarded towards the erection of schools. But no real progress could be made under this Act because it applied only to Electoral Districts. This Ordinance, as mentioned earlier, provided for the organization of schools in the Territories and for the creation of school districts.

> Provision was made . . . for financing the schools. Each school district received a grant from the Council . . . and in addition each district raised money by local taxation.
>
> (Hutchinson, 1918, p. 11)

Although the political and concomitant organizational changes prepared the way for the establishment of schools, rapid expansion of educational institutions did not follow as a direct consequence of the above. Rather, the rapid growth of schools was the culmination of sociohistorical forces discussed earlier. The table following gives an indication of the rate of this growth. In recapitulating the more significant events, mention must be made of the evolution and development of constitutional and, eventually, responsible government, the formulation of a land policy, the building of railroads, the marked increase in immigration and colonization (including a sharp rise in the number of non-English-speaking immigrants), the establishment and development of agricultural, ranching, horse, swine, sheep, and mining industries, and to the cultural influences of the ever-increasing proportion of Protestant immigrants from Eastern Canada, the United States, and the British Isles.

The impact of these interrelated social forces on education in the Territories to 1905 was rapid change and expansion. Two significant changes, in addition to those outlined in the section entitled "The

Number of School Districts Organized in the North West Territories, 1884-1905

	Public School Districts		Separate School Districts		Totals	
Year	Protestant	R. Catholic	Protestant	R. Catholic	Annual	Cumulative
1884	4				4	4
1885	44	10		1	55	59
1886	29	4		1	34	93
1887	33	3		4	40	133
1888	30	6		1	37	170
1889	23	3		4	30	200
1890	34	6	2		42	242
1891	16	2			18	260
1892	51	3			54	314
1893	32	1			33	347
1894	46	2		1	49	396
1895	55	4			59	455
1896	36	2	1		39	494
1897	21	1			22	516
1898	22	1			23	539
1899	44	2		1	47	586
1900	52			1	53	639
1901	78	1		1	80	719
1902	118				118	837
1903	166				166	1003
1904	237				237	1240
1905	231				231	1471

Educational Implications of Political Revolution in The Territories," warrant attention. The first is that in 1888 the Territorial Government inserted into its school ordinance several sections on compulsory education. All children between the ages of seven and twelve were required to attend school for at least twelve weeks each year. If any child failed to meet this requirement, his/her parents were subject to a fine. Five acceptable excuses for non-attendance were listed including distance from school greater than two and one-half miles, "a condition that must have been very common in those days" (Sparby, 1958, p. 76).

The second change, referred to above, concerns the establishment of school districts. As provided by the Act of 1875, school districts were to be erected by the Territorial Government following positions and favorable votes by local residents. This was changed by the Ordinance of 1901 in which:

> Provision . . . [was] made whereby the Minister of Education may, under certain conditions and on his own initiative, establish a school district.
>
> (Blue, 1924, p. 285)

Another factor with important implications for education was the need to develop a sense of nationalism in the Territories. This was considered imperative to Dominion political unity; for the possibility that the newly acquired area might fall, by default, to the United States remained imminent due to the fact that a 'National Policy' for Canada was not drafted until 1878. This policy, drawn up by Sir John A. MacDonald, "called for . . . immigration and western settlement, transcontinental railways, and a protective tariff" (McDonald, 1971, p. 62).

But the path to nationalism in this vast territory was beset with problems and conflicts. One of these was the spectacle of federal and territorial and/or provincial governments engaged in rivalry for power.

> The former was championed by Sir John A. MacDonald who envisaged a strong centralized government with the hope of avoiding the mistakes made in the United States federal system which gave sovereign power to the states; and the latter fight for provincial rights was led by Oliver Mowat, the Liberal premier of Ontario from 1872 to 1876.
>
> (McDonald, 1971, p. 66)

The Northwest Territories had figured prominently from the beginning in plans for building a Canadian nation. Yet it had to fight political and constitutional battles against a 'colonial-minded' government for rightful recognition within the framework of Confederation.

Another problem stemmed from the inter-cultural conflict between the French and English, a conflict intensified by the hanging of Louis Riel at Regina in November 1885. Associated with this issue was the question of separate schools. Eventually this difficulty was resolved by tolerating separate schools:

> As part of the price for national unity. In themselves they were seen as divisive but, due to the circumstances of the times, it was considered expedient that they be allowed to continue under strict government control, however, their separateness was greatly diminished.
>
> (McDonald, 1971, p. 113)

The period between 1884 and 1905 saw Canada not only involved in the task of building national unity based on the coexistence of two major ethnic and religious groups; the Dominion was also seeking an identity of nationhood within the North American context.

As intimated previously, a significant step towards education for nationalism was taken in the Northwest Territories in 1892—namely state control. However, legislation providing for such a system was one thing; putting it into effect was quite another. This task, to a large extent, fell to the new Superintendent of Education, D. J. Goggin. Essentially a Canadian nationalist in the imperial tradition, Goggin worked for unity in Canada of a nature that would add strength to the British Empire. The program of studies he introduced into the Territories was directed to those ends.

Similarly, the Indian Act of 1876 indicated that the relevant position adopted by the Canadian government was firmly rooted in an assimilationist point of view.

> The course of action was to 'raise the Indians to the level of whites' by confirming Christianity among them, by establishing them in settlements, by providing efficient schools for Indian children.
>
> (Carney, 1978, p. 8)

In many respects, these objectives were but the extension of those introduced and initiated by the early missionaries. A detailed account of some of these intrepid and dedicated men, constitutes the content of the next chapter.

CHAPTER II

THE WAY OF THE CROSS

Missionaries and Mission Schools

As was noted in Chapter I, prior to 1840 the Hudson's Bay Company showed little interest in education in the Northwest Territories. For reasons cited in the same chapter, change in the Company's attitude regarding education became evident near the middle of the 19th century. Basically, this change entailed the encouragement of missionary groups to become more involved in providing at least rudimentary education to the inhabitants of the vast northwest region.

Given the objectives of missionary organizations and the nature of their members, it is not surprising that even minimal promotion by the Hudson's Bay officials received an enthusiastic response. It is not as if the response was overwhelming on a quantitative measure; but what it lacked in numbers was more than compensated for by the dedication and perseverance of the intrepid respondents. Because of this dedication and perseverance, the missionaries made a valuable contribution to the development of education and educational institutions in the Territories. The specific contributions of some of the more prominent missionaries will be discussed on the pages that follow.

James Evans (1801–1846)

James Evans, son of a sailor, was born in Kingston–upon–Hull, England, in 1801. After limited experience as a common sailor, he attended a boarding school at Lincolnshire. Following this he was bound as an apprentice to a grocer.

During this time Gideon Ouseley, the noted Irish evangelist, was on one of his tours to England. Attracted by the fame of the minister, James attended one of the sermons and was immediately converted. Following his conversion, he became prayer leader and local preacher in the vicinity of his home.

About 1821 the Evans family moved to Canada and settled in the province of Quebec. James remained in London working in a large glass and crockery establishment. However, two years later he followed his relatives to the New World. Several months later he was engaged as a teacher in a school that was opened near L'Original. His genius for languages and his strong will were qualities that made his work as teacher a stepping-stone to being a missionary. And so, five years later, at the Indian school at Rice Lake, north of Lake Ontario, Evans began his life's work.

> With a zeal that never flagged, a courage that never faltered, a love that never cooled, he pushed on amidst storm and sunshine, into the older provinces of the Dominion, and then in later years, by canoe and dog train in tempests and blizzards, into the vast regions that stretch from Lake Superior to the mighty Mackenzie River.
>
> (Young, 1899, pp. 34–35)

He moved to the Mackenzie area after consenting to become General Superintendent of the Methodist missions in the Hudson's Bay Territory. Here, burning with a zeal for the souls of men, and never daunted by danger, he faced the severest hardships to do the will of God. As MacLean stated,

> He bore a charmed life in that north land, for as he 'ran' the swiftest and wildest rapids, crossed the lakes in the severest storms and travelled in the coldest weather, though oftentimes in danger, he always reached home at last.
>
> (MacLean, 1890, p. 159)

However, his efforts involved much more than proselytization. Illustrative of the diversity and successes of his commitments was his work at Rossville, about two miles from the Norway House fort. Here, aided by Indians, Evans prepared the materials for the necessary buildings. In a short period of time, a church, school, parsonage, and about twenty houses for Indian families were built. In addition, his expert instruction helped the Indians to grow farm produce successfully.

Most notable, however, was the success of the school. Though hagiographic, the excerpt below is insightful.

> So soon as the work was commenced, a school was opened, which was filled with merry boys and girls, who were taught reading, writing, arithmetic and singing by the missionary. Evans was a good musician and proved successful in teaching the Crees the songs of Zion. . . . The children became proficient in their studies under the able management of Evans.
>
> (MacLean, 1890, p. 155)

But even such achievements were overshadowed by his more significant and far-reaching contribution to Indian education—the development of the Cree syllabic system of language. He had first studied the language to find the number and character of the sounds used by the most knowledgeable orators of the tribe. Once he identified the principal sounds he arranged them in rhythmic order and then invented signs or characters to symbolize them. (See the page following.)

His joy was great after having completed this task, but there was still the problem of putting it to practical use. To do this at Norway House, where he was living at that time, was no minor enterprise. Type, paper, ink, printing presses, and even a suitable building were nonexistent. This, however, did not discourage him. He used the resources at hand. From the fur traders he begged for sheets of lead which were found in the tea chests. He then carefully carved wooden models of his characters, made casts of them in soft clay, and then poured molten lead into these moulds. His ink was made from chimney soot and sturgeon oil. For paper, he used birch bark. By an ingenious method, he fashioned a jackscrew (used for hoisting fur bales) into a printing press. This gave him the power he needed. Thus, he not only created his own readable syllabic language, but put it into print as well.

The structure of the syllabic language was uniquely simple to learn. Many Natives mastered it in only a week. Recognizing its merits, Anglican and Roman Catholic missionaries adopted the system, made translations in it, and published extensively. Using his system, the British and Foreign Bible Society published a Cree Bible in 1861. Thus the influence of James Evans' work was spread far and wide.

It is unfortunate that such triumphs had to end in pathos. On one of his missionary expeditions to Athabasca he accidentally killed his interpreter, Thomas Hassell. Subsequently, he was called to England by the missionary authorities to answer charges made upon his character. Though he was completely vindicated, he never recovered from his grief. Broken by severe toil, hardship, and persecution, he died on the evening of November 23, 1846.

THE CREE SYLLABIC ALPHABET.

INITIALS.	SYLLABLES.				FINALS.
	a	e	oo	ah	• ow
a	ᐁ	ᐃ	ᐅ	ᐊ	X Christ
p	ᐯ	ᐱ	ᐳ	ᐸ	ᑊ p
t	ᑌ	ᑎ	ᑐ	ᑕ	ᐟ t
k	ᑫ	ᑭ	ᑯ	ᑲ	ᐠ k
ch	ᒉ	ᒋ	ᒍ	ᒐ	- ch
m	ᒣ	ᒥ	ᒧ	ᒪ	ᒼ m
n	ᓀ	ᓂ	ᓄ	ᓇ	ᐣ n
s	ᓭ	ᓯ	ᓱ	ᓴ	ᐢ s
y	ᔦ	ᔨ	ᔪ	ᔭ	ᕐ r
					ᓪ l

The dot over any syllable lengthens the vowel sound.

Thus, ᒪᓂᑐ = Manito, the Indian name for the Great Spirit, or God; ᒪᒪ = Mama; ᐸᐸ = Papa.

THE LORD'S PRAYER

IN THE CREE SYLLABIC CHARACTERS.

ᑳᑎᐯᔨᐦᒋᑫᐟ ᐅᑕᔭᒥᐦᐊᐤᐃᐧᐣ

ᓅᑕᓈᐣ ᑭᐦᒥᑭᓯᑯᐦ ᐁᐊᔮᔨᐣ, ᑭᑕᑭᐢᑌᔨᐦᑖᑲᐧᐣ ᑭᐃᐧᐦᐅᐃᐧᐣ;

ᑭᑐᑌᓈᐃᐧᐃᐧᐣ ᑭᑕᐃᐧᐅᒥᐦᒋᐸᔨᐤ; ᐁᐃᑌᔨᐦᑕᒪ ᑕᐃᐧᐃᐦᑭᐣ ᐅᑕ ᐊᐢᑮᐦ ᑲᐃᓯ ᐃᐦᑭᐦ ᑭᓯᑯᐦ.

ᒥᔨᓈᐣ ᐊᓄᐦᐨ ᑲᑭᓯᑲᐠ ᑫ ᐅᐦᒋ ᐱᒪᑎᓯᔮᐦ.

ᐁᑲᐃᐧᔭ ᐱᓯᐢᑫᔨᐦᑕ ᓂᒪᒋᑐ ᑕᒍᐃᐧᓃᓈᓇ, ᑫ ᐃᓯ ᐁᑲ ᐱᓯᐢᑫ ᔨᐦᑕᒍ ᑲᒪᒋᑐᑕᑯᐃᐧᔭᐠ;

ᒪᒥᔪᓂᓈᐣ ᑭᒥᐁᑲᒪᒋᑐᑖᒪᐦ; ᐸᒋᒋᔅᐦᐊᒫᐃᐧᓈᐣ ᑳᒪᔭᑕᐦ:

ᐯᔭ ᑭᑐᑌᓈᐃᐧᐃᐧᐣ, ᒥᓇ ᓱᑳᑎᓯᐃᐧᐣ, ᒥᓇ ᑭᐦᒑᔨᐃᐧᐃᐧᐣ, ᑳᑭᑫ, ᒥᓇ ᑲᑭᑫᐧ ᐁᒣᐣ.

Reverend Robert Terrill Rundle (1811–1866)

> Behind the records of history lie the deeds of men whose genius has not been discovered till their work is done and their memory is almost forgotten.
>
> (MacLean, 1918, p. 46)

Robert Rundle was born in Mylor, Cornwall, on June 11, 1811, son of Robert Rundle and Grace Carvosso. His mother was the daughter of Reverend William Carvosso, a famed lay minister, and sister of Reverend Benjamin Carvosso, a prominent minister in Britain. The Methodist influence on young Robert was enhanced by the publication of *Memoirs of William Carvosso* and even more so by the man himself who lived in the Rundle home from 1814 until his death in 1835. Hence, from his third to 24th year, Robert lived in daily association with a truly notable Methodist leader.

Other events must have affected Robert. Among the more dramatic was the death of his older brother who died at the age of eighteen shortly after being converted to the Methodist faith. Similarly, the death of Grandfather Carvosso in 1835 not only affected the Rundle household but also brought Uncle Benjamin Carvosso more intimately into the family. Though there is no information about Robert's soul reform, this must have occurred between 1832 and 1837 and may have been related to the events noted above. Whatever the case, by 1837 Robert was firmly identified as a Methodist. Two years later he was accepted for the Methodist ministry and as his daughter reported:

> After he had been a few months in Training College there came an urgent request from some of the Hudson's Bay Company officials for a young man to go out as a missionary to the Indians in the far west & [sic] to act as a Company chaplain in the same District. He at once offered to go and was accepted.
>
> (Dempsey, 1977, Introd., pp. xiii-xiv)

Robert Rundle and his fellow missionaries began their journey from Liverpool on March 16, 1840. After two days in New York, he journeyed to Montreal. On April 23 of the same year Rundle embarked in a canoe into the wilderness. Though his appointment was at Fort Edmonton he stayed at Norway House for three months. His ministry here resulted in two positive gains. First, he lost all fear of Indian people and second, he discovered the effectiveness of going out to the Indians.

On September 7, Rundle left for Fort Edmonton. Thirty-nine days later, after a tedious upstream journey, he reached Fort Edmonton. In this Rundle set a precedent. He was the first Protestant missionary of any denomination to settle in what is now Alberta. Despite this, Reverend Robert Rundle has had poor press. The reasons are not hard to understand.

> The contemporary awareness of historical persons and events is largely derived from the experiences of the white culture. By the time the white settlers had moved in, Father Lacombe, and the McDougalls were already established pioneers in the Western scene. They so dominated the period, and so satisfied the need for missionary heroes that their predecessors, both Methodist and Roman Catholic, were almost *entirely obscured. How many people could write* two paragraphs about Father Thibault or Father Bourassa? They, along with Rundle, Thomas Woolsey, and Henry Bird Steinhauer, worked almost exclusively with the Indian and Métis cultures so none of them became heroes in the white man's culture and tradition.
>
> (Dempsey, 1977, Introd., p. ix)

Such, indeed, was the case with Rundle. As a single man he preferred visiting the Indians in their camps rather than in the fort. So, as noted above, he never became enshrined in White culture. On the other hand, this historiographical disadvantage was, in effect, personally advantageous. By working outside the fort he avoided most of the trouble experienced by other missionaries and was able to survive for eight years without conflict.

These eight years, 1840 to 1848, were devoted to the spiritual and moral welfare of the Natives. Rundle was vitally concerned with the immorality, not only of the Indians, but also of the White man and his liquor trade. Tribal warfare, which was rampant at that time, was also a cause of great anxiety for him.

The conversion of one of the celebrated warrior chiefs, Maskepetoon, was a tremendous influence in leading many other Natives to conversion. When this chief first heard about Christianity he seemed quite interested, but when he learned that it taught peace and forgiveness of one's enemies, he disdainfully rejected it and said it was a religion fit only for old women. Regarding pacifism, Maskepetoon is quoted saying, "I'll never be a Christian as long as there is a scalp to take or a horse to steal from a Blackfoot" (Young, 1899, p. 139). His commitment to violence was manifested by the fact that, without compunction, he scalped his wife alive for having aroused his ire.

Yet some time later, as Maskepetoon listened to a campfire sermon from the text, "Father forgive them for they know not what they do," he became convinced that he should, indeed, forgive his enemies. The next day he forgave the man who killed his son. "Ever afterward Maskepetoon was a devoted, humble, useful, Christian" (Young, 1899, p. 140).

In between Rundle's long and frequent journeys to Native camps, he held school twice a day in Fort Edmonton and held services every morning and evening. He devoted himself totally to daily proclamation of the Gospel and to instruction of the children. Above all, it should be remembered that his consuming purpose was not to make Methodists, but to dispel mental and spiritual darkness from the lives of men.

> Robert Terrill Rundle built no churches, formed no societies. That was not his prevailing purpose. But to the credit side of his account may be placed, with firm assurance, some items of undying significance for the Middle West. With apostolic longing he travelled far and wide over a limitless parish, in quest of the restless Red Man, who wandered here and there over an untamed wilderness. His purpose was not to promote trade and establish its routes, but to carry such messages as would bring to the native new and better ways of life.
>
> (Riddell, 1946, p. 30)

The eight strenuous years that Rundle labored in the Northwest took their toll "as the hardship and incessant travel had completely broken down his health" (MacLean, 1918, p. 102). Consequently, he returned to England where, from 1850 to 1856, he performed ministerial duties in his homeland. In 1889 he retired from active service. His last years were spent going from house to house as a servant of the Faith. On February 4, 1896 he passed away at Gastang, Lancashire.

> The name of the humble self–effacing missionary of the Cross stands forever enshrined in that noble mountain [Mt. Rundle] whose massive strength greets the expectant traveller, as the famous highway of the Canadian Pacific Railway threads its way through the towering peaks of the mighty Rockies.
>
> (Riddell, 1946, p. 30)

Reverend Thomas Woolsey

The early autumn of 1885 marked a crucial time in the history of Methodism in Western Canada. It was the coming of Reverend Thomas Woolsey, a much–needed successor to the missionary Reverend R. T. Rundle. Rundle had retired in 1848 because of ill health, thus leaving the Canadian West without a Methodist missionary for seven years.

Woolsey set out for Edmonton from London, Ontario with another missionary, a Reverend Henry Steinhauer. The trip, with a brief stopover in Winnipeg, where both men were welcomed by the Hudson's Bay Company, was thoroughly enjoyed.

Upon arrival in Edmonton, Reverend Woolsey settled to the important and tremendous task set before him. His initial work involved two significant responsibilities outlined in Riddell's book *Methodism in Canada*:

> First was the restoration of the interrupted foundations of character building begun by Rundle. The second, was to begin the structure, incorporating such enduring elements as have never afterwards left that place without a minister of the Methodist Church in the long lapse of the passing years.
>
> (Riddell, 1946, p. 46)

Woolsey made his headquarters at the Edmonton House. However, he spent most of his time and efforts with the Native Indians in the camps. This meant that Woolsey had to do a great deal of travelling in the rugged areas of the Prairies. Though Woolsey's physical makeup and stamina were ill-suited to the severe and harsh climate of the Prairie winters, he endured the hardships and travelled by cariole and dog train instead of the usual horseback. Once, the missionary's dog train went out of control and Reverend Woolsey's life was saved by Reverend McDougall. At the moment of panic he had the presence of mind to push Woolsey out of the cariole just in time before the dogs "hit" a precipice.

There were many other experiences through his travels in Indian country that tested both Woolsey's physical and psychological strength. But he remained dedicated and faithful to the mission and the ministry to the Indian people. It gave Woolsey the opportunity to get to know the Indians better, share their hospitality, teach their children basic literacy skills and tell them about the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, and exhort them in the principles of Christianity.

In addition to Woolsey's spiritual ministry to the Indians, he strove to put an end to the conflict and hostilities that waged among the tribes. He sought to show the Indians that the enmity between them could somehow be assuaged in a Christian manner. One incident is told of a time when a party of Blackfoot Indians arrived in the vicinity inhabited, at that time, by a tribe of Cree Indians. Many feared that bloodshed and chaos would erupt but Woolsey intervened and the surprising results were a peaceful agreement and a pact at the end of the evening.

The Reverend Thomas Woolsey also assumed responsibility for the young Native Indian children and youth. This motivated him to seek out a location to erect an institution for the continued care and instruction of the younger Indian population. His dream was realized through the help of Reverend McDougall, and buildings similar to that of the Catholic Mission for youth were erected to accommodate the physical needs and provide educational training for Indian children.

In 1857, two missions were operating in the Alberta Region. These were the Pigeon Lake Mission headed by Woolsey and the Lac La Biche Mission run by Reverend H. B. Steinhauer. Reverend Woolsey was enthusiastic about the mission at Pigeon Lake because he wanted to reach the Stoney Indians and the Blackfoot Indians as well as continue his work with the Cree.

One aspect of Woolsey's work that proved a definite asset to the Indian ministry was translating hymns into the Indian languages. This proved to have a tremendous impact on the Indians of all tribes and Woolsey was the man instrumental in bringing about this translation work.

In essence Reverend Thomas Woolsey's life was one of dedication to missionary work in Edmonton. He died on May 2, 1894.

Reverend Henry Bird Steinhauer (1820–1884)

Henry Bird, an Ojibway Indian, was born in 1820 on the Rama Indian Mission. Located on the eastern shore of Lake Couchiching, in the county of Ontario, the region was notable in early history. It was in this area that Champlain spent nine days, entertained by the inhabitants of Caheague. And it was from the latter frontier town that Champlain advanced to attack the Iroquois. Also, it was in this general region that Brébeuf and Lalement, two Jesuit missionaries, were tortured and put to death by the Iroquois.

"Superstition, drunkenness, and vice prevailed among the Native tribes when Steinhauer was born." (MacLean, 1918, p. 102). Such perceived conditions inspired the missionaries to greater effort and the results were often considered impressive. For example, on June 17, 1828, one hundred and thirty-two Indians were baptized. Henry B. Steinhauer was among this group. That initiation was the beginning of a new career as he was placed under religious instruction. This was made possible because schools were established as an adjunct to religion. Besides offering classes in the basics, practical learning was not neglected. Men were taught methods of farming and women learned the domestic arts.

To finance these schools, Reverend William Case made frequent visits to the United States with ardent pleas for funds. As concrete evidence of the success of such enterprises, Case took Native boys and girls with him who sang Ojibway hymns before White audiences. On a visit to Philadelphia, a Mr. Steinhauer, impressed with the missionaries' efforts, requested Reverend Case to select a Native lad they would educate. It was in this way that Henry Steinhauer got his name, education, and subsequent career.

In 1829 the young Steinhauer was sent to the school at Grape Island where he remained for three years. From here, he was sent to the Casanovia Seminary in New York. After a few sessions at the seminary, Steinhauer began his work as a missionary by teaching at the Credit

Mission school situated at the mouth of the River Credit on Lake Ontario.

At this time, Reverend Edgerton Ryerson was Superintendent of Education for all of Upper Canada. So impressed was he with Steinhauer that he appointed him to attend Victoria College in Cobourg. His academic abilities were proven at this institution and in his last year at the college he was at the head of his class.

When he was twenty years of age he was sent with a contingent of missionaries to work in the Northwest Territories. Steinhauer acted in the capacity of interpreter and translator for the missionaries throughout the trip. At Rainy Lake, Steinhauer remained to help Reverend William Mason as a teacher for the younger children and a worker in the community. Mason was impressed with Steinhauer's work among the children and his community efforts.

Steinhauer's next stint was at Norway House in 1843. There he assisted James Evans in a translation of the Scriptures. But even more significant among his achievements was the founding of the Oxford Mission House. Shortly thereafter, Steinhauer left for England accompanied by Reverend John Ryerson. His stay in England gave him a great deal of experience and prepared him for the mission work that awaited him in Canada. It also enabled him to share with the people in England information about the ongoing ministry among the Indians.

On his return from England, Steinhauer was ordained as a minister at the Canadian Wesleyan Conference in London, Ontario. Shortly thereafter, he left for Edmonton with Reverend Thomas Woolsey and undertook the mission work at Lac La Biche. The nature of the Lac La Biche mission work took Steinhauer from lodge to lodge—in order to minister to the needs of the Indian people—as there were no permanent facilities designed to provide for the physical and spiritual needs of the Indians. Steinhauer realized the inadequacy of the situation so he began looking for a better place to set up a mission house. Eventually he found a place near Whitefish Lake which he deemed safe from the conflicts and tribal "wars" that erupted now and then. The area was also rich in agricultural possibilities and Steinhauer utilized this to teach the Indians farming skills, without losing track of his main objective—to preach the Gospel of Christ.

Steinhauer encountered problems and obstacles in his ministry but did not allow himself to be discouraged. He handled trying situations with courage and astuteness, as he had when his people were threatened by a smallpox epidemic that plagued the Prairies. Thousands of Natives in other communities had died. Steinhauer brought his people to a place where they were safely quarantined and in so doing saved everyone in the community.

Steinhauer persisted in his dedication to the Whitefish Lake mission and faithfully served his people there until he died on December 4, 1884.

Reverend G. McDougall (1820–1877)

George McDougall was born in Kingston, Ontario in 1820. During his formative years there were no schools. The country was wild and primitive, and both brain and brawn were required to maintain a livelihood. Manners were rough, but rewards were found in diligent toil, affection and simplicity of home and family life. George, along with his brothers, trapped fur-bearing animals, cleared the land, and became an expert in the use of axe, gun and trap.

At the age of seventeen he spent a five-month term in the militia even though at this point he could neither read nor write. He acquired his education attending night school near his home.

In 1842, McDougall married Elizabeth Chantler, who afterwards became one of the distinguished women among pioneer heroines of missionary work in the West.

McDougall was converted at nineteen years of age. From that time, whenever he carried on trade with the Indians, he ministered to their spiritual needs. Riddell talks about McDougall's work in these words:

> To these Natives he proclaimed . . . the story of God's redeeming love and the possibility, through faith, of finding a new life with the rich experience of sins forgiven and a bright hope of heaven.
>
> (Riddell, 1946, p. 48)

As a consequence of his work among the Indians, McDougall felt that having an academic education would make him more effective in meeting their spiritual needs. Thus, in 1849, after having saved enough money, McDougall attended the University of Victoria and continued to preach on Sundays. In 1850, he was "received on trial" as a missionary and assisted Reverend William Case at Alderville.

One year later McDougall founded a mission in the brook territory near Lake Huron. It was in Garden River, by the famed St. Mary's, that he established this famous mission. J. H. Riddell describes his work here in the book *Methodism in the Middle West*:

> Here he laboured for six years in providing commodious buildings, in the erection of which such skill and handicraft were manifested as to be the wonder of subsequent settlers, when they removed the huge pine logs to make landing stages along the nearby river trade routes. Beyond these visible achievements he laid spiritual and moral foundations on the eternal rocks of Christian faith, experience

> and life. The material evidence of that service have gone, but some foundations remain on which others are building.
>
> (Riddell, 1946, p. 49)

McDougall was also proud of the education his mission was able to provide for the young Indian children. In a letter to his conference in 1857, dated January 28, he makes mention of this:

> I would just remark that, without being invidious as to others, our school is decidedly the best we have seen in this country: our indefatigable teacher, Mr. Dagg, has drawn around him not only the children of our own people but almost all the Romanist children within reach. The class in grammar, geography and arithmetic would bear comparison with most of those of the same age in our favoured country.
>
> (*Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, August 1857, p. 206)

On June 1860, he was delegated to be the missionary at Norway House. His commission included the Edmonton, Whitefish Lake and the Alberta-Saskatchewan regions. McDougall was not discouraged by the immense responsibility that came with this new assignment. He believed his commission to be missionary work and that he should "go on until the last wigwam entered, and the last pagan brought to the feet of Christ."

The McDougalls remained at Norway House for two years where their efforts comprised a variety of activities. The main concerns were the liquor traffic among the Indian people, perpetrated by the fur traders and the Hudson's Bay Company itself, and the depletion of wildlife which was the traditional source of food for the Native people. Their tendency to migrate further south in search of food was also a cause of anxiety for the missionary. He feared the attraction of the Red River settlement and the French Catholic mixed bloods, people demoralized by the American free-traders crossing the border. This initiated thoughts of turning westward.

The family made their way west in 1862, by which time the number of their children had increased to eight. When Mrs. McDougall arrived with her husband and family at the new mission at Victoria (now Pakan, Alberta), she found no house, but only a skin teepee for shelter. Being a true pioneer, she managed ungrudgingly, until a house and home-made furniture were built.

> The one luxury she had, if such it can be called, was real glass for her windows. Except for the Hudson's Bay chief factor's house at Fort Edmonton, no one else west of Fort Garry enjoyed such a privilege. The Indians were often seen gazing through them, with awe rather than curiosity as to what was on the other side of the glass.
>
> (Jordan, 1957)

When the schoolhouse was built, a teacher, Mr. Benjamin McKenzie, was hired. He had received his education in the Red River area, and had taught school there in the St. Mary's school parish. The new mission school had an enrollment of about forty Métis, twenty Indians, and some Whites.

By 1871 George McDougall was Superintendent of the Saskatchewan District, and he decided to establish headquarters at Edmonton. Leaving his son John in charge of the Victoria station, he went on and built a mission house and church outside the Hudson's Bay fort at Edmonton. Day school was resumed here by Mrs. McDougall and one of her daughters. However, this was not to be the stopping point for her husband. He wrote to his conference on May 20, 1872, asking the Society for funds to establish a school at Woodville Mission near Pigeon Lake:

> One hundred and fifty children demand immediate attention; a mission without a school is an anomaly: if the stability of a house depends on the security of its foundation, equally so does the future of a mission depend on its school; if Rundle had not taught his converts to read the syllabic characters, they would have returned to paganism long ago. . . . We must have an efficient schoolmaster at Woodville, nothing attaches the Native to our stations like attention to his children.
>
> (Nix, 1960, p. 49)

The Pigeon Lake mission had been started some years previously under the direction of Reverend Robert Rundle. Now, with George McDougall's determination, it was to be reopened under the direction of his son, John.

The Mountain Stoney had also frequently importuned George McDougall to begin a mission among them. They had suggested the valley of the Bow River as a suitable location because of its favorable climate and fertile soil. McDougall, after exploring the district, decided upon a site a few miles east of what is now Morley, Alberta. In November 1873, the new mission to the Mountain Stoney at Morley was begun, and John McDougall and his family settled there, along with about 700 Indians.

After this work was established, George and Elizabeth McDougall left for Ontario since she had not seen her family for 14 years. Ever alert for schemes to benefit the Indian, before leaving for the East, McDougall called a meeting in conjunction with the Chief Factor. A petition was prepared, asking the government to suppress the liquor traffic in the country and to send a military force to establish law and order. This resulted in the Royal North West Mounted Police being sent out the following year.

It was indeed a sad day for all when, in January 1876, their beloved Reverend George met with misfortune. A hunting party had been organized to go out for buffalo between Calgary and Morley. By Monday, January 24, the party had killed six animals, and darkness fell on the camp before they had time to dress the meat and put it on the sleds. The camp lay some eight miles distant, and the father told John that he would go on ahead and have supper ready when the others arrived. He rode away, never to be seen alive again. On the 13th day after he parted from his son, his frozen body was found, not far from the camp which he had vainly sought. The sad news was borne far and wide among the Indian camps, while the nation mourned with a stricken heart for a brave man, fallen in faithful discharge of his duty.

George McDougall's resting place is in the Indian cemetery at Morley, Alberta. The church was restored in 1952, and still bears a monument to his memory. "It is of such men that the scripture says, 'Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends'" (Jordan, 1957, pp. 3 & 6).

Reverend John McDougall (1842–1917)

The birthplace of this trailmaker of the West was Owen Sound, Ontario and no place was better fitted than this as a starting point for a pioneer. Tradition says that he was the first White child to be born on the shores of Georgian Bay. Regarding his childhood, he stated, "My first recollections are of stumps, log heaps, great forests, corduroy roads, Indians, birch bark, canoes, bateaux and mackinaw boats." Mingling with the Indians till he became thoroughly familiar with the Ojibway tongue, sailing on lakes, visiting bands of Indians, tramping through the forests, listening to his father preach, such was the preparation for John McDougall's life in the West.

At the age of eighteen, McDougall became a schoolmaster at Norway House. Since the Cree and Ojibway belong to the Algonquin nation, the young teacher soon became proficient in the language of the indigenous inhabitants. This facility prepared him for the work that lay ahead and he won the respect and admiration of the Natives. It is, then, no surprise that from the mainland, the islands, and the fort, children came by canoe in summer and dog train in winter. About this facet of his own career, McDougall said:

> My work was teaching, and I had my hands full, for my daily average was about eighty pupils. I had no trouble to gather students the two years I taught at Norway House. They come from the mainland and from the islands and from the fort, by canoe and by dog train. My scholars were faithful in their attendance, but the responsibility was a heavy one for me, a mere boy.
>
> (McDougall, 1971, p. 18)

After two years of teaching at Norway House, John McDougall moved on to new challenges.

Farther to the west lay the "great lone land," and his father, George, spurred on by the vision of greater possibilities, decided to visit the tribes on the Saskatchewan and the missions in the vicinity of Edmonton. So in 1862, father and son sojourned westward, travelling by canoe and horseback. This was a memorable trip for John for it was on this journey that he killed his first bear and buffalo. The significance of this act was that in the eyes of the Natives it demonstrated courage and skill—attributes worthy of admiration and esteem.

After arriving in central Alberta, they decided to make Victoria the center of their operations. Here George left his son John and Thomas Woolsey in charge while he returned to Norway House to get his family before the winter set in. For the two who remained there were many hardships. For one thing it was dreadfully lonely. But even worse was the monotonous diet: fish and buffalo three times a day.

After a few months, his father, mother and family arrived from Norway House. At Victoria, they set to work and opened the first school in what is now the province of Alberta. The nine pupils who attended marked the beginnings of a public system of education.

In 1865, at the age of twenty-three, John McDougall married Miss Steinhauer, daughter of the missionary of Whitefish Lake. Their honeymoon was a trip to Victoria by dog train. George's wedding gift to the newlyweds was a pair of Hudson's Bay blankets, two hundred barrels of gunpowder and some twine.

Following a brief stay in Victoria, John and his new bride set out to re-establish the mission at Pigeon Lake where, nearly twenty years before, Benjamin Sinclair had begun under Reverend Rundle the first Protestant missionary in the entire territory. Soon after the first structure was erected, Indians began to appear.

> Then began a repetition of the early days at the Victoria station, with the young lay missionary's time divided between hunting, building, fishing, ploughing, fencing, instructing the Indians in agriculture and religious meetings.
>
> (Nix, 1960, p. 36)

After the death of the elder McDougall, John took up the work at Morley, and oversaw the building of the first Methodist Church in Calgary in 1877. His mission to the Stoney Indians at Morley became known as one of the most successful in the entire country. He became a prolific writer. His first book, written in 1888, was a biography of his father. In addition he helped translate many hymns and the New Testament into the Cree language and did much conciliatory work in the negotiations and drafting of Treaties Six and Seven. During the Riel Rebellion of 1885, he served as chaplain and scout with the Alberta Field Force. The result of John McDougall's commitment and efforts was, as the excerpt below illustrates, general respect and acclaim.

> The Reverend Dr. John McDougall, as he became known, was a remarkable influence for good with the natives and because of this the government appointed him Special Indian Commissioner for the Doukhobors who were then settling in the West. When the first transcontinental railway was being surveyed he often acted as guide to Sir Sandford Fleming and Colonel Rogers who sought him out because of his wide knowledge of the geography of the country. In his lifetime he saw great strides of civilization in the west and a whole new nation came into being.
> (Jordan, 1957, pp. 6-7)

Also significant is that one of Canada's finest educational institutions emerged during John McDougall's lifetime and some of the credit must be given to him. This college began operations on Monday, October 5, 1903, in a large room over Johnstone Walker's store on Jasper Avenue, east of McDougall Street. The unnamed college began its career with no students, no staff, no buildings, and no endowment: only a principal and a small group of hopeful, loyal men. This institution played an important role in the educational life of the Middle West, and eventually became the pioneer of all higher education in the province.

In summary, to say that John McDougall lived an extraordinary life is an understatement. His adult life, like Father Lacombe's, coincided with the transition period from the fur trading era of the Hudson's Bay Company and the various free traders to the formative years of the New Dominion of Canada, and ultimately the Province of Alberta. They were important and critical years for the future province.

The man who played such a significant role during this period died in Calgary on January 21, 1917, and was buried with great ceremony. All classes of people attended: representatives of the Legislature, civic councils, boards of education, colleges, religious denominations and public institutions of Edmonton and Calgary. A guard of the Mounted Police, veterans of the Rebellions, Indians in full dress, men and women belonging to all the learned professions as well as many of the common folks who loved him were present.

The address by Chief Jonas Bigstoney sums up what an extraordinary yet humble man the Reverend John McDougall was:

> While our land was free, and the country was free, our friends here met our father on the plains. They followed him as a friend and brother, and had faith in him and in his teaching. As he found us, all our families were pagans. All these teachings dropped, and we are now following him in his steps. And as far as I can remember, day and night, storm and shine, we always found our friend here to do his duty. Just as we remember him today, and all our lives we will strive to follow him. All the tribes, the Stonies, Crees and Blackfeet, all have the same feeling of loneliness. Just as you are all here today, there may be difference as to the color of the skin, but we have one aim as brethren. As I think of the days of the past, I think of the ministry of our brother, and how he told us the time would come when our spirits will depart, and today, as I think of it, I say in my heart, he has faithfully done his duty.
>
> As I look at this Bible opened up, and this is what brought us together, and I look on his wife, I can almost say, she has been a mother, helping us to do the right.
>
> They [Dr. and Mrs. McDougall] have fulfilled their part, and this I wish my people may follow.
>
> This empire builder, patriot, and great missionary, my companion of the early days in many a camp, and on long journeys on the prairie, has gone, and I am left lonely and sad, but his influence abides, and shall continue beyond the eternal stars.
>
> (MacLean, 1918, p. 211)

Reverend J. B. Thibault (1810–1879)

Reverend J. B. Thibault was born at St. Joseph of Levis, December 10, 1810. From an early age he diligently applied himself to entrusted tasks associated with preparing himself for the long missionary career he was to pursue in the Canadian northwest. In 1833 he arrived at St. Boniface where he received the order of the priesthood on September 8. At the St. Boniface College he studied the Indian languages and only a year later the Bishop recognized him as "a subject precious for the missions" (MacGregor, 1975, p. 13).

Eight years later, Bishop Provencher requested that Reverend Thibault 'repair' to the distant post of Fort Edmonton. In the spring of the following year, the missionary began his journey. Starting on April 20, he travelled overland, sometimes on foot or on horseback and sometimes in carts drawn by oxen.

After two months of arduous travel, Thibault arrived at Frog Lake, thirty miles north of Fort Pitt. There he erected a humble abode, entered into friendly relations with the Indians, and resolved to explore the country before establishing the first Catholic mission in this part of the Territories.

On June 19 he arrived at Fort Edmonton where he was warmly received. From this center he continued to visit settlements to evangelize the Indians and Métis. Then he retraced his journey and was back in St. Boniface on October 20.

In early summer of the following year he returned to the west. After revisiting Edmonton, he advanced westward to Devil's Lake. There he decided to establish the first Catholic mission of the Northwest. He changed the name of the lake to Lac Ste. Anne, erected a modest dwelling and chapel and continued the strenuous work of evangelization and of Christian instruction. Many Natives and Métis travelled great distances to come to him and Thibault, in return, travelled many miles to their encampments. It was on such occasions that he went to Lac La Biche and even to the foot of the Rocky Mountains.

In 1844, Thibault was joined by Reverend Joseph Bourassa. When Bourassa arrived at Lac Ste. Anne, Father Thibault was evangelizing in distant parts but upon hearing of the arrival of his colleague, he hurried back, passing through Jackfish Lake, Fort Pitt, Cold Lake, and Edmonton. Upon his return, the two set themselves to the task of completing the Mission "which was then happily and solidly established" (Breton, 1955, p. 7).

After spending the winter together, the two missionaries separated. Father Thibault went to Cold Lake and Isle a la Crosse while Father Bourassa went to Lesser Slave Lake and Grande Prairie. The latter worked in this area for seven years. Between the two, vast regions were covered but this only made them acutely aware of the extent of missionary work opening before them. Recognizing that Quebec could not recruit sufficient clergy, the "two apostles of the north" requested that Bishop Provencher consider means of procuring missionaries of a religious order for this country.

From the Catholic perspective, the need was urgent. Father Thibault, worn out by work and hardship, returned to St. Boniface in 1852. The following year, Father Bourassa also retired from active field work. Fortunately for the Church, a dynamic, secular priest arrived at St. Boniface when Thibault was returning from his northwestern missions. The entreaties of the Bishop had convinced Reverend Albert Lacombe to take the place of Father Thibault. In the years that followed, Lacombe left an indelible mark on the history of the west.

Reverend Father Albert Lacombe (1827-1916)

Send me men girt for the combat
Men who are grit to the core . . .

Send me the best of your breeding,
Send me your chosen ones;
Them will I take to my bosom,
Them will I call my sons . . .
And I will not be won by weaklings
Subtle, suave, and mild,
But the men with the hearts of Vikings,
And the simple faith of a child.

(Robert Service)

The above is an apt characterization of the attributes demanded of men recruited to fulfill the Church's mission in the West. Few men met these requirements as completely and responded to the demands as successfully as did Reverend Father Lacombe.

Born in the parish of St. Sulpice by the St. Lawrence River in 1827, Albert Lacombe brought tremendous joy to his parents Albert and Agathe. Friendly neighbors came to rejoice and,

> All held high hopes for his future. In time he would surely help his powerful father clear more stumps and go with his mother back along the strip farm to the maple sugar bush. In time he might have an opportunity . . . of going to school. In time—who knew?—the Virgin might look favourably on their devotion and sacrifice and exalt him to the calling of a priest.
>
> (MacGregor, 1975, p. 13)

And so on that special day in the humble Lacombe household, young Albert's parents had dreams for his future because in Father Viau's parish, all things were possible. Hence, Albert like his ancestors would surely attain success as a man.

When Albert was born, St. Sulpice was already an old settlement. Here many a tale was recounted of past hardships and heroic adventures. Such stories told of lumbering bears who frequently brought harm to the families and the Indian raids that were so notorious in those pioneer days. One such dramatic encounter with the Indians happened to the Beaupré family, Albert's great-great-grandparents. Allegedly, Marie-Louise, the oldest daughter of the Beaupré family, was kidnapped by a band of Ojibways. Not until five years later were she, and the two children she had given birth to in captivity, rescued and returned to her own people. One of Marie-Louise's children grew up to become young Albert's grandmother and from her came his inheritance of Ojibway blood.

With this rich inheritance and in the gorgeous St. Lawrence environment, Albert Lacombe was raised. In this small community, it was inevitable that his alert mind would be noticed by Father Viau, the parish priest. So impressed was Viau with Lacombe that in 1840 he had, at his own expense, entered Albert at L'Assumption College—an institution that was responsible for training many students who later became missionaries and bishops. Albert's stay at L'Assumption College was marked by excellent academic performance. His superiors promptly noticed the traits of determination, initiative, and obedience that they recognized as assets for the life of priesthood.

Nor were his efforts unrewarded. By 1847 he was already the executive secretary to the Bishop of Montreal. While still serving at this post in 1848, his missionary zeal was 'fired' by Father Belcourt's passionate plea to the Bishop for such help. In his memoirs, Father Lacombe writes about this experience:

> I was deeply moved. A voice from within called to me. '*Quem mitham?*' and I replied: '*Ecce ego, mitte me.*' During my student days and my stay at the bishop's place, I had often dreamed of missionary work and hoped that someday I would lead such a life. I read every word in the report of the missions. I did not relish the life of a curé and I would rather return to the world if I could not be a missionary. I wanted to make all sacrifices or none at all. My talk with Father Belcourt made up my mind.
>
> (Breton, 1955, p. 5)

In 1849 his dreams came true. The Bishop had given him permission to prepare himself for missionary work. Within less than a month Albert Lacombe fulfilled all the requirements for priesthood. He received his ordination on June 1, 1849 and hastily began to prepare for his journey westward. The evening before Albert's departure the Bishop held a farewell ceremony. The Bishop's last words to Father Lacombe appropriately concluded the solemn event:

> Go where the spirit of God has called you. Go to those nations still seated in darkness and ignorance. Go to console them and make them children of God.
>
> My son, never forget your holy and precious calling. . . . If God is with you, who can be against you?
>
> (Hughes, 1920, p. 16)

The next day, Father Albert Lacombe watched Montreal fade into the distance as the tiny steamboat pushed away from the Lachine dock. Alternately, by boat and stage, Lacombe, after a brief stopover at Dubuque, proceeded to St. Paul. Here he officiated for one month before continuing his trek to Pembina with Father Belcourt's brigade.

The Pembina mission was established in 1818 by Father Dumoulin who, with Father Provencher, had responded to Lord Selkirk's request for priests. Through the years, Pembina remained a mission headquarters for the wandering Salteaux and when Father Lacombe arrived it was a village composed of American Métis and Indians.

In 1848 Father Belcourt had taken charge of the mission. He was destined to become the invaluable tutor to Albert, enabling the young priest to grasp the rudiments of missionary life and the language and culture of the Indians. In addition to this, he also learned the indispensable skill of wielding an axe. In his memoirs, Father Lacombe wrote:

> I started to study the Algonquin or Salteaux dialect. In the spring [1850] the Métis of Pembina were preparing for the annual buffalo hunt. I was selected to accompany them as their chaplain but a few days before our departure I received a nasty axe cut on my right foot while building my cart.
>
> (Breton, 1955, p. 12)

Hence, Lacombe was left behind on this hunt to be the "praying man" to pray for the success of the hunt. This was the first of the "hunts" that Lacombe witnessed during his three months as novitiate missionary. Though he spent a great deal of time with the Indians as he went from Montana and Dakota to the Saskatchewan area, he remained restless and could not understand why he still had a void in his heart.

Consequently, he requested a recall to Montreal until he could return to the west in another capacity. He returned to the eastern city in 1851 but never ceased to pray for his calling. By the spring of the following year, his prayers were answered, for on May 4, 1852 he and two Oblate priests, Father Taché and Father Henri, set out for the West. It was Lacombe's intention to undergo a regular novitiate before assuming the responsibilities of a missionary. But fate drastically changed these plans. With Father Thibault's return to Fort Edmonton, utterly worn out with his labours, and Father Bourassa's intended return forthcoming, Bishop Provencher desperately needed a replacement in the West. This task fell to Father Lacombe before he could even seriously begin his novitiate at St. Boniface or acquaint himself with the constitution and discipline of the Oblate Order. So, on July 12, Lacombe left for Fort Edmonton.

Shortly after arriving at the western fort on September 19, Father Lacombe proceeded to Lac Ste. Anne to greet Father Bourassa. Then, before settling for the winter, he visited Lac La Biche, an Indian center about one hundred and fifty miles northeast of Fort Edmonton. Alexis Cardinal, a Métis who was to share many trips with the young missionary, went with him as a guide. After this brief visit he returned to Edmonton to assume his ministry.

With the coming of spring, Father Lacombe officially replaced Father Bourassa at the Lac Ste. Anne mission. Here he was joined by Father Remas. The remaining part of the year was, indeed, a busy one for Lacombe. Numerous trips were made to Lesser Slave Lake, Fort Dunvegan, and Peace River to perform parochial duties.

A year later, in 1856, Lacombe's wish for a novitiate was granted and at the chapel in Lac Ste. Anne he pronounced his vows.

> He was at last a member of the Congregation of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate. His dream was fulfilled. And it was about this time that he first heard the name by which he was soon to be known throughout the prairies: *Ars–Okitsiparpi* 'The Man of Good Heart.'
>
> (Breton, 1955, p. 23)

Five years later he, along with Father Taché, left Lac Ste. Anne to look for a new mission site. After travelling for a number of days they agreed upon a location which they called St. Albert, in honor of Lacombe's patron saint.

While working at St. Albert, Lacombe had to visit St. Joachim (Edmonton) quite frequently. Though a relatively short journey, the trip was hazardous because it necessitated crossing the Sturgeon River by means of the unreliable scow. Typical of the ingenuity with which he addressed all problems encountered in the West, Lacombe decided to build a bridge. So one Sunday he told his friends:

> I am finished to cross [the river] . . . in the water walking in the mud on the bank and pushing the scow. I'll build . . . a bridge, and if any of you do not help me—that man will not cross on the bridge: he will go through the water. Yes, I will have a man there to watch.
>
> (Hughes, 1920, pp. 86–87)

As a mark of acceptance, repeated many times during his lifetime of service, the whole settlement came out the next morning. In short order, the bridge was built.

Shortly thereafter, Father Lacombe took up another venture. Since the St. Albert mission was growing quite rapidly, more and more people had to be fed. To avoid paying the high freight rates to the Hudson's Bay Company, he organized a brigade of Red River carts to bring in the required supplies. "This was the first brigade of carts to cross the prairies with freight between Fort Edmonton and the Red River."

On his return from the first 'freight–run,' Lacombe brought with him Brother Scollen, an Oblate novice. In doing so, Lacombe again demonstrated 'vision' and pragmatism since Scollen was brought west to open a school for the children of Fort Edmonton. The principal significance of this enterprise lay in the fact that this school was the first regular school to be opened west of Manitoba.

Lacombe stayed in St. Albert until, in January of 1865, a visit from Father Vandenberghe, an emissary of the Superior General of Rome, changed his missionary career. On New Year's Day, this visitor assigned Father Lacombe the "mission of roaming the prairies in an attempt to evangelize among the ever-wandering Crees and Blackfeet." The assignment overwhelmed Lacombe with joy for this had long been his heart's desire.

The new mission territory included the area lying between the two arms of the Saskatchewan River. This parish was dotted by teepees of various tribes that roamed the prairies—Lacombe's beloved Cree, Blackfoot, Sarcee, Stoney, and Métis who all shared a common Algonquin origin. Father Lacombe was a friend to all these tribes and years later they continued to speak of him when they gathered in their lodges.

Life as a missionary in this territory brought Father Lacombe encounters with ferocious Indian fights, ravaging diseases such as the smallpox epidemic of 1870 and cold and desolate nights on the prairies. With fortitude, he prevailed and though each difficulty was given total dedication, Father Lacombe found time to consider future objectives. For example, one thing that remained uppermost in his mind was to solve the problem of language as he worked among the various tribes. These linguistic problems prompted him to work on Cree manuals which he felt would help the missionaries who would follow in later years. Part of this enterprise, undertaken in collaboration with Brother Scollen, was the publication, in 1870, of volumes of manuscripts on Cree grammar. The *Edmonton Bulletin* had the following to say about this work:

> By far the most complete and the best arranged work on the language is one published in French by Père Lacombe. It is a bulky volume of 900 pages and contains a French-Cree dictionary, a Cree-French dictionary, and a grammar which shows that the author in his twenty years of wandering among the Indians of the Saskatchewan had made himself thoroughly familiar, not merely with the outer forms of language, but with their idioms and habits of thought.
>
> (Breton, 1955, pp. 63–64)

Other works were also published. They included a grammar book, a speller, a prayerbook, a hymnbook, a book of instructions, and a New Testament, all in Cree. There was an illustrated catechism for use by the Indians and, with Bishop Legal, he worked on the compilation of a Blackfoot-Cree dictionary. Also, in co-operation with the Sisters of Providence, he published a resumé of the catechism and a prayerbook in the Salteaux language.

To add to these publications, Father Lacombe devised the "Catholic Ladder "—a work which took eight years to complete. The illustrations and narrative of this work were made into a fine colored copy by the Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame in Montreal. In 1872, this manuscript was published for general use.

In the same year (1872) many significant events occurred. In Europe, the Franco–Prussian War deprived the Pope of French support. In Canada, the Hudson's Bay Company had already completed the sale of its empire to the Dominion of Canada. The sale gave momentum to a number of interrelated socioeconomic and political developments which included increased migration to the West. A direct consequence of the latter was a rapid increase in the establishment of new missions and social and political leaders were made aware of the need for new schools. The upshot of this situation was that the missionaries, the primary educators during this time, needed considerably more financial support. In an attempt to resolve this problem, the Bishop recalled Father Lacombe to Montreal for the purpose of soliciting funds for the missions in the West.

Lacombe's stay in Quebec was followed by a trip to Europe to represent the Bishop at the General Chapter of their order. For these reasons, Lacombe did not return to his Indian missions until May of 1882. Upon his return, he immediately established a new mission at Fort McLeod. Though happy to be with his beloved Blackfoot, Cree, and Métis again, he found that his Indians and the entire West had changed drastically. The buffalo had disappeared, scattering the tribes across the prairies. Town after new town was built as the 'White' influx gained momentum. The influence of these factors on the Indians was dramatic. As Father Lacombe had noted:

> How they had changed! No longer were they the wealthy lords of the prairies. Their horses had been sold to buy food, their beautiful clothes had been bartered to the traders. And now hungry and desolate, they camped on their new reserve humbly accepting the handouts of meat and flour from the Indian agent.

In his diary Father Lacombe often mentioned the new difficulties that beset him at the Fort McLeod mission. His entry in 1883 reveals this: "Now that the railway gangs are coming nearer to our poor Indians we can expect all kinds of moral disorders." Nor was this the only disruption Lacombe anticipated. The Canadian Pacific Railroad was moving rapidly westward. The Indians, as a result, were being pushed farther and farther from the lands they had once freely roamed. Conflict of interest almost erupted into open hostility when Crowfoot, a Blackfoot chief, refused the railroad right of way. Upon hearing about this volatile situation, Lacombe went to his old friend and managed to persuade him to allow the company to continue construction. As compensation, and again largely because of Lacombe's mediation, the Blackfoot chiefs were awarded extra land to the northwest in exchange for the "right-of-way" that the Canadian Pacific Railway needed for its railroad.

Other problems came to the fore in the fall of 1884. The missions needed financial help to establish schools that would acculturize the Indian children into the new way of life emerging in the West. This led Lacombe to seek the help of influential people in Ottawa and Montreal. One such request for aid prompted Sir John A. Macdonald to write the following:

> With respect to the most important of these [problems] the establishment of Industrial schools among the Indians, I may say that difficulties have been overcome and three Industrial Schools are to be established—one Protestant—and two Roman Catholic schools, one under the patronage of the Archbishop and the other of Bishop Grandin. . . . Learning and piety, however necessary are not all sufficient. Good business ability is, if possible, a greater requisite than either two.
>
> (Hughes, 1920, p. 287)

To update the libraries in the new schools, Lacombe sought the aid of the priests in Quebec. Their response overwhelmed Father Lacombe.

In the years that followed, Father Lacombe was actively involved in looking after the welfare of his Indians. There were numerous occasions when he interceded to defuse tensions which had arisen between the Indians and the Government. Somehow Lacombe's firm and tactful manners were usually effective.

By 1893–95 a new crisis appeared on the prairies to plague the Catholic missions. With the coming of many Protestant British settlers, the French-Canadian Catholics were being rapidly outnumbered. The conflict arose from the British settlers' desire to establish their own culture and religion as the predominant culture and religion in the West. Immediately, this brought into focus the educational issue of Catholic separate schools.

Despite valiant efforts, within three short years the fruit of the missions' efforts and the monument to their hard work came to a shattering end. By July, 1889 the Manitoba Legislature passed laws which abolished Catholic separate schools, the official use of the French language, and the five religious holidays that had always been regarded as legal. Father Lacombe was called upon by the Archbishop to present the Catholic missions' position, but this time Lacombe's tact and diplomacy were of no avail. He returned dejected and defeated to Pincher Creek.

The years that followed were busy for Father Lacombe. As he grew silver-haired he thought of retirement but this was not to be until two years after his 80th birthday. Until his retirement he worked at Fort McLeod, accompanied the Royal Commission to negotiate Treaty Eight with the Indians of northern Alberta, travelled to Europe to seek help for the Ruthenian cause, and finally, visited the Holy Land.

On December 11, 1916, this true missionary, this soldier of Christ who tried so diligently to walk "The Way of the Cross," passed away in the Lacombe Home at Midnapore. As a tribute to him, a public funeral was held at Calgary. Indians, Métis, Oblates, old-timers and Mounted Police assembled to honor his memory. After a commemorative mass,

> his body was taken north, away from the parched windy plains and the Indians he had stubbornly loved, to the country of his first missions and to St. Albert, the little town he had founded. But because the people of . . . [southern Alberta] loved him so much and wanted to keep some part of him, his heart was buried in the Blackfoot country.
>
> (Phelan, 1956, p. 182)

The Oblates of Mary Immaculate

In 1815, Reverend Charles Joseph de Mazenod founded the Missionary Society of Provence—a new religious order whose principal purpose was the evangelization of the poor and neglected. One year later, the first house of Oblates opened at Aix. Here, Mazenod and a companion priest committed their lives to the ministry of missions.

In the years that followed many other devout priests joined the order and many other houses were established in France. The young congregation received their full Vatican recognition and approval on February 17, 1826 with the Sovereign Pontiff, Leo XII, honoring them with the beautiful name, "Oblates of Mary Immaculate."

Until 1841, the order of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate devoted their missionary efforts to needy areas of France. All that changed during a meeting between the Reverend Ignace Bourget, the Bishop of Montreal, and Reverend Charles Mazenod in Marseilles. At this meeting Bourget requested the founder of the Oblate Fathers to grant him four priests from the Oblate Congregation for the missions in his diocese. Bourget's request was granted and from that day the Society of Oblates ceased to be a purely local or exclusively French congregation (Duchaussois, 1937, p. 378 and 380). In time it spread to the four corners of the globe, especially the United States and Canada.

The first of the Oblates to come to the Northwest was Father Thibault. As mentioned earlier, in 1842, Father Thibault founded the first permanent mission for the Cree and Métis at Lac Ste. Anne. Two years later he was joined by a companion, Father Bourassa. They worked together for a year and then separated. Thibault went to the Chipewyans of Cold Lake and Isle à la Crosse while Bourassa went to Lesser Slave Lake and the Grande Prairie of the Peace River.

The first Oblates who came to Red River arrived in 1845. These were Reverend Father P. Aubert and Brother A. Taché. Five years later, young Taché was elected as Coadjutor of Bishop Provencher. In 1851, after Taché's consecration in France, a young priest, Albert Lacombe, joined him as a novitiate in the prairie regions. Lacombe's efforts and their significance to the development of the West have already been recorded.

Another Oblate, Reverend Father Remas, arrived at Lac La Biche in 1853. He soon moved to Lac Ste. Anne and came to be Lacombe's novice master. For the next four years Remas and Lacombe worked together at the Lac Ste. Anne mission. Desirous of making this an important center, the missionaries obtained the co-operation of the Grey Nuns of Montreal "to labor at the Christian instruction of the Indian childhood, and especially of persons of their own sex" (MacGregor, 1979, p. 135). It was Father Remas who brought west the first contingent of these good nuns. By joint effort, they established the best known mission center in the West—St. Albert. Operating this mission was not an easy task. Among other problems, sickness plagued the area. In 1870, for instance, the St. Albert mission lost 2,500 children to the smallpox epidemic. However, the Grey Nuns, Lacombe, and Remas persisted and tangible results were achieved.

In the years that followed we find successively a number of other missionaries who spent a more or less considerable time here [the West] and devoted themselves to the works of the ministry. These included Reverend Father Leduc in 1867-1868; Reverend Fathers André and Bourgine in 1870 and 1871; the Reverend Fathers Blanchet and Dupin from 1871 to 1874; Reverend Fathers Scollen and Grandin from 1883-1884; and Reverend Father Lizerée from 1886 to 1896.

The work of the Oblate missionaries was concretely evidenced in the orphanages, hospitals and schools they established. Unfortunately, their individual efforts have not been recorded, and therefore, cannot possibly be enumerated. Nonetheless, their work has withstood time and the changes of civilization. Fitting tribute was paid to such achievement in 1961 by the late Pope John XXIII. He described the missionary order as a valiant army spreading the love of God throughout the continents of the world.

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Canon W. Newton

In 1875, after a five–month trip from Toronto, Canon W. Newton, the first Anglican missionary to present–day Alberta, arrived in Fort Edmonton. Immediately after his arrival, he built his first church seven miles downstream from the fort. This place he appropriately called Hermitage. Later on, he homesteaded most of the land on which the church was erected.

Only two years later, Newton was convinced that the original site was impractical. Consequently, he obtained five acres of land from Malcolm Groat, west of today's 121 Street, and there erected another place of worship. There the learned Dr. Newton served his Edmonton flock for twenty years, even though there were times when his parish disappointed him.

Another disappointment stemmed from the religious bitterness he found when he came to Fort Edmonton. Writing about this bitterness, without intending any reference to the Roman Catholic Church, he said:

> The leading people at the fort were Methodists and very zealous Methodists too. They do not attend our services, nor did they encourage their servants to attend.
> (Newton, 1897, p. 16)

> By these people our work was looked upon as an interference with their rights, and our presence was simply shocking. We were regarded as poachers who plunder the preserves of respectable families in well regulated communities.
> (Newton, 1897, p. 26)

Great as were the efforts of Newton and that of many other missionaries, particularly some of those mentioned in this chapter, we must not "over–estimate the level of education actually achieved during this period. The work was at best primary judged by our standards" (Goresky, 1944, p. 14). Well–intentioned effort was often mitigated by the missionaries' zeal to advance the interests of their particular church. Reading and writing were often adjuncts to proselytization. And science instruction was principally geared to practical geography and elementary agriculture.

However, in fairness, it must be admitted that there has been a tendency on the part of some people to minimize the efforts of the early missionaries.

> But, with all our vaunted progress, we have not been able to do much more. . . . Indians who settled around missions and taught farming methods by Father Lacombe, and to a lesser extent by the McDougalls. . . . remain settled to the present day. No amount of teaching in the use of modern machinery has been able to do much more.
>
> (Goresky, 1944, p. 14)

CHAPTER III

IN HIS FOOTSTEPS TOO

Sisters in the Northwest

> The Growing Good of the world is partly dependent on unhistoric acts; and that things are not so ill with you and me as they might have been, is half owing to the number who lived faithfully and rest in unvisited tombs.
>
> George Eliot

Almost without exception, venerable tribute has been paid to the intrepid missionaries who played a vital role in the development of the Canadian West. And such recognition is justifiable, for in the words of John MacLean "Some men are written on the surface of History and can be lost, others are woven into the texture and can never perish." Prominent among the latter are Father Lacombe and the McDougalls. Many others, less well known, also contributed significantly to establishing the 'rock' upon which the present rests. And this holds equally for the sisters who came to the Northwest and the area later designated as Alberta. Few of them won the individual acclaim of Lacombe, but collectively, as the introductory quotation suggests, their unwavering faith, dedication, and service was not only spiritually ennobling but also educationally enriching and humanely comforting. In complete poverty and with the sacrifice of isolation, but guided by faith and a sincere love for mankind, the sisters of various institutes set about their task with unwavering diligence and left an indelible mark in the annals of the Canadian West.

Numerically, their membership was not overwhelming but the number of institutes represented was commendable. Note, for example, the list of female religious institutes cited in Legal's *History of the Catholic Church in Alberta*:

1. Grey Nuns
2. Faithful Companions of Jesus
3. Franciscan Sisters
4. Ursulines de Jesus
5. Daughters of Jesus
6. Sisters of the Assumption of Nicolet
7. Reverend Sisters of Wisdom
8. Sisters of Charity of Euron
9. Daughters of Providence
10. Auxiliaries of the Apostolate
11. Servants of Mary
12. Ladies of Refuge
13. Sisters of Charity of Providence
14. Sisters of Charity of Misericordia

The work of each of the above orders merits detailed historical recognition. In this section, however, only two representative groups will be discussed in some detail—The Grey Nuns and The Faithful Companions of Jesus.

The Grey Nuns

Foundations

Foundress of the Order of Grey Nuns was the venerable Mother D'Youville. The eldest of six children, she was born of noble parents as Marguérite Defrost Lajammerais in Varrinna, Quebec on October 15, 1701. When she was only six years old her father died, leaving to his family those virtues that come of poverty and Christian dedication. And so from this early age began Marguérite's career of self–sacrifice and dedicated service.

At the age twenty–one Marguérite married François d'Youville. Though she had been religiously prepared for matrimony, the marriage brought her nothing but unhappiness. But rather than despairing, Marguérite sought ideals other than worldly happiness. Thus began her novitiate of the Saints.

On July 4, 1730 tragedy struck again. On this day her husband died and, though unhappy in the marriage, Marguérite deeply mourned his death. From this time she zealously devoted herself to being an exemplary mother. Other duties were soon assumed—"the service of the poor, the sick, and prisoners, and all those in whom the eye of Faith discovers a special resemblance to our Divine Master" (Duchaussois, 1919, p. 15). After her two sons were ordained into the priesthood, she dedicated all her efforts to such service.

Soon she was joined by three other young ladies, Mlles. Thamur-Lassource, Demers, and Cusson. Initially, the friends did not present themselves to the world as a community. But on All Saints' Day in 1738, the trio established themselves in a rented house in Montreal where ten poor people soon found abode and spiritual comfort. From this humble beginning emerged the Religious Institute of the Grey Nuns (the Sisters of Charity) of the General Hospital of Montreal. In the years that followed, the Sisters of Charity provided unwavering service to the sick, the poor, and the aged. Along with other sisters of the order, and continuing to this day, Marguérite set the highest example of faithfulness to the Holy State. Official recognition of this dedication was received on July 30, 1880 when Pope Leo XIII solemnly approved the Religious Order. Ironically, this was granted 109 years after the foundress' death.

Stepping to the West

On September 13, 1843, Monsignor Provencher, the first Bishop of St. Boniface, appealed to the Grey Nuns in Montreal "for motherly hands to break the bread of instruction for the little ones of his diocese" (Duchaussois, 1919, p. 29). All present were willing to make the sacrifice. Four were chosen—Sister Valade, Sister Lagrave, Sister Coutlée and Sister LaFrance—and on April 24, 1844 they set out in one of the Hudson's Bay Company's boats to the "boundless prairie."

The four-month trip, which involved inconveniences, humiliations, disappointments, accidents and injuries, was truly a test of devotion. This test the Sisters passed with admirable colors. Writing in their diary of their trip West, Sister Lagrave commented:

> In spite of everything, I have courage enough to carry out God's holy will, even though it should cost me more. I have embraced the Cross as my portion and I mean to cling to it, even until death, in the spirit of our Holy Rule.
>
> (Duchaussois, 1919, pp. 38-39)

Bolstered by such faith, the Sisters persevered and on June 21, 1844, after a fifty-nine day journey, they arrived at St. Boniface.

Within a month they were teaching school. From the beginning they had fifty-four pupils, mostly Métis and some Sioux. Instruction was also given outside the convent. Throughout the winter, Sister Lagrave travelled distances to teach catechism and prayers to children, women, and men. Also, she was the only physician in the entire neighborhood.

With the Grey Nuns at St. Boniface looking after the young, the infirm, the aged, and the friendless, Bishop Provencher must have thought that he might sing *Nunc dimittis*. And on June 7, 1853, the prelate did pass away leaving his responsibilities to Bishop Taché. Monsignor Taché was at La Loche Portage when the news reached him. Immediately he wrote a consoling letter to the Sisters. Also in the letter he suggested that the Sisters should broaden the field of their activity. Subsequently, Taché conferred with Mother Deschamps, Superior General, and it was agreed that the Sisters would assist in the missionary work further west and north. Everywhere their work won praise and recognition. The following accounts of their work in four centers—Lac Ste. Anne, St. Albert, Lac La Biche, and Saddle Lake—are illustrative of the efforts that merit such acclaim.

Lac Ste. Anne, 1859–1863

As was previously mentioned, the mission at Lac Ste. Anne was founded in 1843 by Father Thibault to serve the Métis and the Assiniboines. Nine years later Father Lacombe took charge of this center. And even before he assumed this responsibility, Lacombe recognized the need for missionary assistance which Sisters could provide. But the Lac Ste. Anne mission, poor and with almost no resources, could promise little for the support of any order. Nonetheless, Mother Deschamp agreed to send three Grey Nuns, provided the Fathers would look after their spiritual needs and see that they lived according to their Holy Rule. Consequently, a contract was made for the foundation of the Grey Nuns in the Canadian Northwest.

Three sisters, Zoë Leblanc–Eméry, Adèle Lamy, and Marie Jacques–Alphonse were chosen to go to the mission of Lac Ste. Anne. They left the Mother House in the spring of 1858 and joined the Red River community for an adaptation period. The following summer, they left the mission at Red River for Lac Ste. Anne. Fifty–one days later the nine–hundred mile journey was completed. Sister Eméry related the experiences of the voyage as follows:

> After fifty days on the frightful prairies, we arrived on the 24th of September at our much desired mission, not too tired from such a long journey. Upon our arrival our first duty was to thank the good Lord and the holy mother for their saintly protection, and for the same reason the Reverend Peres offered a solemn *Te Deum*. During this time, we could not restrain ourselves from shedding abundant

> tears. . . . It was over! We were delivered. We were walking for the first time on the land which would probably be our graves.
>
> (Deschamps, 1859)

Upon their arrival, Sister Eméry assumed the position of superior and nurse and opened the first hospital and asylum. Sister Alphonse, a teacher, took charge of the first school. On October 10, 1859, she had up to forty-two students for one hour a day. As a tribute to her ability, it should be recorded that in this time she managed to teach them how to read, recite prayers, and sing (Deschamps, 1859, p. 5). Sister Lamy, on the other hand, as the sacristine, looked after the chapel and the priests' vestments. The three shared the household duties and took an hour of Cree lessons daily from Father Lacombe (Deschamps, 1859, p. 5). Considering their duties—teaching, nursing the sick, attending to the mission church and priests' house, providing what medical service they could, learning Cree--they certainly were not idle.

And it should be emphasized that these duties were performed under conditions that demanded not merely dedication but ennobling sacrifice. The following description of their living quarters makes this clear.

The house they lived in had five rooms. Two of them were living quarters while the other three were bedrooms. The largest bedroom was only seven x eight feet and it served for Sisters Eméry and Lamy. The two smaller bedrooms were occupied by Sister Alphonse and Marie-Louise, a volunteer lay missionary. There was also a big kitchen which was joined to the house by a porch.

To complement supplies that were purchased, the personnel at the mission kept some animals. In 1859, for example, records indicate that the stock consisted of fifteen horses, seventeen head of cattle, and some cats and dogs. Agriculture was also carried on, though practiced on a minor scale. In the first year some barley and potatoes were harvested. Given such limited local production, the diet was minimal—dry meat, fresh meat, and fish. This was supplemented by bannock and potatoes and garden vegetables during the summer months.

During the period discussed famine was frequently prevalent—especially among the Indians and Métis. Earlier, such deprivation was relatively unknown, for before the arrival of the White wastrels, the Plains Indians had what seemed an unlimited supply of buffalo. Not only was this animal their principal food source, it also furnished them with materials for clothing and tools.

But with the coming of the White man, these great animals were doomed to extinction. The former's insatiable greed for the valuable buffalo hides prompted Indians and Whites to engage in almost unending buffalo runs. Thousands upon thousands of these great animals were literally sacrificed for the price of the hides. This uncontrolled slaughter soon lead to starvation among the natives and to deprivation for the Sisters and Fathers. Fasting in those days practically meant starvation, but they also found "Toujours a la veille de manquer de tout, nous ne manquons jamais du necessaire" (*St. Albert Chroniques, 1859–1915*, pp. 3–4).

In December of 1860, Bishop Taché came to visit the mission at Lac Ste. Anne. Seeing the conditions of deprivation that existed, he decided to find a new site for the order which had greater agricultural promise. He chose St. Albert and so, after four years of hard work, the Grey Nuns left Lac Ste. Anne on March 23 for their new home.

St. Albert 1863–1978

On foot, by horse sled, or by horseback, Father Lacombe made many a trip from Lac Ste. Anne to Fort Edmonton. On these treks he often stopped on the hills of the Sturgeon River to admire the beauty of that region. Hence, when Bishop Taché and he were looking for a new mission site he arranged a stop at a particular area for a rest and a cup of tea. So impressed was the Bishop by this beautiful site that he planted his walking stick in the snow and said:

> It will be here. We will place the mission under the name of your patron saint; we will call it Saint-Albert.
>
> (Jonquet, 1903, p. 207)

The choice was prudent, for the location had important advantages: it was only eight miles from Fort Edmonton, it was possible to travel from St. Albert via the Sturgeon River to the North Saskatchewan River, and, in addition, the soil was ideal for agriculture.

Just three months after the site was chosen, Father Lacombe arrived in St. Albert with twenty families. River lots were portioned out to each family and thus the first permanent settlement in Alberta was established. After the residences were built, Father Lacombe undertook the task of having a chapel residence constructed. Later that summer a 30 ft. x 50 ft. log cabin was completed to serve as the first church. (Today we can visit it at the Lacombe museum.) Two years later, 1863, the mission also constructed the first flour mill west of Fort Garry. It was powered by four horses (Tardif, s., n., p. 39).

In the same year (1863) Sisters Eméry, Lamy and Alphonse, accompanied by seven orphans, came to St. Albert to continue their work of mercy which they had begun at Lac Ste. Anne. Their convent, a two–

storey house, was completed by September 18, 1864 (*St. Albert Chroniques, 1859-1915*, p. 7). It became the first hospital–orphanage–school west of the Red River. The education provided by the Grey Nuns in this center was not a classical education designed to have the pupils earn diplomas. Rather it was an education which sought to help the students become self–sufficient, responsible citizens. To this end instruction was offered in basic workmanship. The boys learned to cultivate the land, work with wood, and build a house while the girls learned to sew, wash and iron clothes, keep a garden, and cook. On the academic side, the students were taught arithmetic, French, English, and religion. And overall, the Sisters were relatively successful in their enterprises. Their successes were indeed admirable when one takes into account the conditions under which they worked.

Adding to their hardships was the smallpox epidemic that swept through the St. Albert colony in August 1870. Unsanitary living conditions and improper diet contributed to the plague's toll. In some cases entire families were wiped out. Many others were left either motherless or fatherless. Always assisting the afflicted, whenever possible, were the Grey Nuns. Sister Eméry, assisted by Sister Lassiseraye, made house calls, cared for the sick in the convent hospital ward, and even went to Lac Ste. Anne to get Father Leduc who was very ill with the disease. Such dedicated service was given without professional assistance until December 31, 1870—the day that Dr. McDonald arrived at the mission (*St. Albert Chroniques, 1859–1915*, p. 13).

Education in the St. Albert mission progressed very well under the direction of the Grey Nuns. As early as 1871, enrollment had increased sufficiently to require another teacher. This position was filled by Sister Blanchet from St. Boniface. By 1878 the teaching staff had to be increased again. Also at this time more girls from the St. Albert and Edmonton regions wanted to be educated by the Sisters, so they started to accept boarders. Despite the problems encountered by increasing enrollments and limited facilities, the Sisters maintained a high educational standard. Illustrative of this is that the students passed the "exam classique" after each term.

A credit to the Sisters is that expansion and quality instruction continued in the years that followed. As an example of the first, a large two–storey boys' school was officially opened in 1880 (*St. Albert Chroniques, 1859-1915*, pp. 34-35). The first principal of the school was Sister Marie des Anges. When opened, the school had an enrollment of sixty. As enrollment continued to increase, the Sisters bought some land to support their school, orphanage, and hospital.

83

In 1885 the institution, with Sister Dillon as principal, was recognized as a "Public System." But the organizational change and physical and demographic expansion did not, as often is the case, obstruct pedagogical innovation. For example, in the same year (1885) the teaching of instrumental music was begun. From an educational perspective this addition to the curriculum was inspiring. Even in the midst of a demanding and austere frontier, the Sisters were sincerely interested in the development of the whole child--a concept that did not gain widespread currency until much later. This approach was successful. As one example, in June 1893, Sister Malcheloss took two pupils to the Chicago World Fair to exhibit crafts. Eugénie Leduc and Caroline Ward, two Indian girls, won a number of prizes for their weaving and spinning. Three years later they were awarded Honor Diplomas—certainly a credit to their teachers.

By 1895, the growing number of children necessitated the separation of the Sisters' two great works—education and caring for the sick. To provide for this need, the Edmonton General Hospital was opened in the same year.

Meanwhile, the school in St. Albert continued to excel under the principalship of Sister Savard. The Sisters' work was so highly acclaimed by the Regina School Inspectors that the Teachers' Convention was held in St. Albert. The Inspectors were recognizing and praising the educational contributions of the Sisters in Alberta.

In 1905, the Sisters and their one hundred and fifty member band participated in the commemoration of Alberta's newly gained provincial status. During this celebration some two thousand children were present. Noting this, the Honourable Sir Wilfred Laurier, Prime Minister of Canada, cried out: "What need have we of immigrants in the face of this growing population?" (*St. Albert Chroniques, 1859–1915*, p. 121).

The following year, the Sisters were visited by distinguished government visitors. Unannounced, Lord Grey, the Governor General, Lady Grey and their sons and daughters, the Mayor of Edmonton, the Premier of Alberta, the Vice President of the Canadian National Railway, and a few other ladies and gentlemen came to see the Sisters and their children of different race, color, and creed. In particular, the visitors wanted to hear the band that had performed so well at the inauguration ceremonies. Little did they know that the boys were milking the cows and that the girls were preparing supper. However, after the evening meal, there they were in their Sunday best wearing little posies of forget-me-nots and bowing gracefully before the Royal visitors. The performance was superb and the Sisters were rightfully proud of their one hundred and fifty young musicians (*St. Albert Chroniques, 1859–1915*, pp. 123–125).

In the decades that followed the nature of the school changed, so that by 1940 it was a progressive Indian Residential School. Two years later the Department of Indian Affairs, under the Federal Government's direction, provided funds of $10.00 per student for the upkeep of boarders in residential schools (*St. Albert Chroniques, 1859–1915*, p. 510). Later, the Minister of Indian Affairs decided to erect day schools on the Indian Reserves. The subsequent loss of residential students compelled the Sisters to change the focus of their work. They did this by welcoming twenty-one senior citizens to their convent. By 1947, the Grey Nuns decided to devote themselves entirely to the care of the aged, so the remaining students left and the classrooms were converted into rooms for the new clientele. That year marked the foundation of the Youville Home for the aged.

In 1964, the Government of Alberta passed Bill 126 which authorized the formation of districts for the construction and operation of senior citizens' homes. The Youville Home then started to receive support from the province of Alberta and so it was decided that a new building be erected. The official opening took place in April 1967 (McGrane, 1954, p. 2). The Youville Home is still administered by the Grey Nuns but it is funded by the provincial government like all senior citizens' homes in Alberta.

As evidenced in the foregoing, the Grey Nuns began their work in St. Albert with three members and limited resources. Over the years, they increased their staff and the services they provided. In time, changing sociocultural and political conditions necessitated a change in the focus and extent of the Sisters services. The following account is a summary of these trends:

1863–3 Sisters and 7 orphans
1873–5 Sisters and 24 orphans
1883–10 Sisters and 60 orphans
1893–14 Sisters and 98 children
1905–26 Sisters and 150 children
1913–26 Sisters and 73 Indian children
  76 orphans
  140 boarders
  121 town students
1923-43 Sisters and 94 Indian children
  86 orphans
  82 boarders
1950-48 Sisters and 181 aged patients
1960–52 Sisters and 165 aged patients
1967–12 Sisters and 162 aged patients
1977–10 Sisters and 162 aged patients

Lac La Biche 1862–1898

Originally, Lac La Biche was a Hudson Bay Trading Post where, every spring, Cree and Montagnais would come to sell their furs. In time, many Métis families came to settle around this post. Among these was a French–Canadian, Joseph Cardinal, who had devoted many years of service to the Hudson's Bay Company, throughout the Northwest Territories. Cardinal began his service when he was very young and throughout his youth he gave little thought to some of the basic values he was taught in childhood. But when he reached maturity these educational and religious principles aroused concern about certain facets of his own life–style. For example, he was anxious to have his marriage blessed and his children and grandchildren baptized. So in the fall of 1844, when he was already eighty–two years old, Joseph Cardinal set out to meet Father Thibault who was preaching in the area of Cold Lake. Honoring Joseph's request, Father Thibault came to Lac La Biche in October of the same year. This marked the beginning of this Catholic mission. However, it only served occasionally until Father Lacombe and Bishop Taché came to the area in 1852 to determine the possibility of establishing a permanent residence for the missionaries. In 1853, Father Remas became the first resident priest. A year later, Bishop Taché dedicated this mission to the Immaculate Heart of Mary and named it Our Lady of Victories (Hospice Saint-Joseph, 1862-1882, p. 1).

By 1857 a new residential school was built at this mission to look after the educational and spiritual needs of the local inhabitants. Five years later the school was placed in the charge of three Grey Nuns—Sister Grienette, Sister Daunais, and Sister Tisseur.

Initially, the school was not a successful venture because of poor pupil attendance. Even Bishop Taché's efforts to persuade the parents to send their children to school were not successful. So the Sisters decided that more effective service would be given if they opened an orphanage. Undaunted by the fact that the mission did not have any supplies to provide for them, the Sisters, besides raising hogs and beef cattle, harvesting grain and hay, cooking and washing at the lakeshore, laboured to provide for an orphanage and a school. Despite formidable odds, they prevailed.

But all the responsibilities required additional help so the Sisters opened a residential school. Resident students, they believed, would give them the necessary assistance. Unfortunately, the Sisters did not foresee the problems that were to emerge with this ambitious enterprise. For instance, from 1865 to 1870 only seven girls and eight boys were admitted to the residential school and, after a few months, every one of them returned home. Accustomed to complete freedom, the children found it difficult to adjust to a relatively formal and disciplined schedule. Further, even those who desired an education were inadvertently discouraged by their parents who had instructed the children to cry now and then to show that they missed home life. Such parental disposition negated the Sisters' efforts to educate and instruct the Natives of Lac La Biche. This lack of success plus an administrative reorganization brought a change in the major function of the mission.

With the provisional transfer of the mission to the McKenzie Vicariate and the arrival of Bishop Farand, Oblates of Mary Immaculate, in February 1870, the purpose of the Lac La Biche center became one of linking the missions of the north to those of the south. For the Sisters this meant extra work. Besides educating the Native children and caring for the sick, they now had to cook, wash, mend, and sew for the Oblates who were coming to clean up, rest, and get supplies at Lac La Biche before going on to other missions. The result was that the Sisters' primary call became secondary—basically all their work and energy was sacrificed for the advancement of missions in the McKenzie region. But when Sister Ursule Charlebois, General Assistant of the Oblates, came to the Lac La Biche mission in 1871, the Sisters' position changed. Soon thereafter, the school was reopened and the Hospice Saint–Joseph was begun.

Unfortunately, the venture was short–lived. Enrollments, after a brief period of enthusiasm, declined because of parental disinterest, and so the school closed again in 1872. But despite this setback the Sisters did not forget their mission. They continued to teach religion, reading, and writing to a few children even under conditions of extreme duress. For instance, in 1874 they suffered abject poverty and deprivation because most of the available supplies were transferred to the McKenzie missions. Their fortitude in face of this difficulty was admirable. Living from day to day on the limited supplies that were available and the fish that could be obtained, they fasted in the strictest sense until Fathers Fournoud and Pemas and Brothers Gerente, Alexander, and Gaillard brought supplies.

But hope lived eternal and in 1877 the Grey Nuns bought two lots of land in an effort to become more self–sufficient and thereby rebuild their hospice. But the Lac La Biche mission continued to be deprived to the benefit of the northern missions. The following excerpt gives us an indication of what the Sisters experienced:

> The situation results in a state of malaise and distress for all and tends to paralyze the self sacrifice of the sisters who have been able to take in more than twenty to twenty-five children in their institution, while their dear sisters of the Providence McKenzie and of Nativity Athabasca have well exceeded this number, diminishing that of Our Lady of Victories.
>
> (Hospice Saint-Joseph, 1862-1882, p. 41)

Yet their dedication to service was undaunted. Despite the hardships they encountered the Grey Nuns still had twenty female boarders at Hospice St. Joseph. These girls were completely provided for with the exception of two who paid one dollar a month for room and board and one who was supported by her parents (Hospice Saint-Joseph, 1862-1882, p. 51).

Three years later the adversities that had plagued Our Lady of Victories mission were overshadowed by tragedies that came with the Rebellion of 1885. Fathers Faford and Marchand were massacred on Easter Sunday by the Indians of Long Lake. In the same general period, Big Bear and his Indian followers from Frog lake caused panic in the Fort and mission of Lac La Biche. But even such affliction could not deter the Sisters from their calling or diminish their persistence.

Drawing on those inner qualities that only the select manifest, the Sisters were successful in establishing an Indian Industrial School at the mission. On February 26, 1893, the school was officially opened. In its favor was the financial support that was given by the Federal Government—seventy dollars per student. This support was continued until the buildings needed repair and addition. When such expenditures became necessary, the Government decided to move the institution to Saddle Lake. This was done on the advice of the Department of Indian Affairs which was convinced that Saddle Lake was a better location because it was closer to smaller reserves in the area and because it was the residence of the Indian Agent.

In May of 1898, Mother Filiatrault, Superior General to the Grey Nuns, made an official visit to her Sisters at Lac La Biche. During this visit she announced that they would continue their work at Saddle Lake. The transfer was planned according to Bishop Grandin's wish.

> You know that according to the wishes of Msgr. Grandin, Oblates of Mary Immaculate, bishop of St. Albert, our settlement of Lac La Biche will be moved during the summer to Saddle Lake.
>
> (Blue Quills, 1862-1935, p. 48)

So after thirty-six years of service at the mission at Lac La Biche, the Sisters moved. The need was greater at Saddle Lake, so they responded to the call.

Saddle Lake 1898–1931

The history of Saddle Lake dates back to 1873 when Father Lacombe came to serve the Indians of the area and founded the Sacred Heart Mission which was situated close to the Saskatchewan River at a place later known as Brousseau, Alberta. During the first few years the mission served only ten families, but as the numbers increased Bishop Grandin of St. Albert appointed Reverend Father Mérer as resident priest. He arrived in 1888 and immediately began construction of the first house and chapel. Completed in 1890, this two–storey structure served as the missionary residence. That same year a school was organized with Mr. William Todd as the first teacher (Blue Quills, 1862-1935, p. 3).

Father Mérer served the Sacred Heart Mission until 1898 when he was replaced by Reverend Father Henri Grandin. That year the Department of Indian Affairs decided to close the industrial school at Lac La Biche and re-establish it at Saddle Lake. Reverend Mother Filiatrault, Superior General of the Grey Nuns, believed the transfer of residence for her Sisters was advantageous. Her comment about the change was this:

> There they will receive mail every fortnight and be near a telegraph line. It is distressing, I know, to leave this corner of the world, where for thirty–six years, a good number of our nuns sacrificed and burned themselves out leaving only the walls as witnesses of their self–denial. But this change is necessitated by the circumstances and will turn, I expect, to the glory of God because establishing ourselves in the same manner in the center of the reserve, we will be able to provide Christian teaching to a greater number of children.
>
> (Blue Quills, 1862-1935, p. 48)

The move took place during the summer months. Immediately the Sisters began their work. Co-operative and diligent effort brought success, for on the first day of August 1898 the St. Joseph Residential School at Saddle Lake was officially opened. Sister St. Placide was the new Superior and with Sisters Beliveau, Beauchemin, Gannon, Dougherty, St. Augustin, Briault, and Coursol the care of the children was assured.

In 1892, Reverend Father Henri Grandin was appointed principal of the school. He retained this position until 1902. During this period the school thrived. As early as 1900 the enrollment at St. Joseph's Residential School had surpassed fifty. This progress, however, demanded even greater dedication, for the Department of Indian Affairs gave notice that it would limit the per capita grant to a maximum of forty–five pupils (Blue Quills, 1862-1935, p. 55). But rather than reduce the enrollment, the Oblate Fathers and the Grey Nuns absorbed the cost from the produce of their farm. And so the Sisters had to spend the summers working in the garden, tending chickens, pigs, and cattle, weaving and sewing, and canning perishables to sustain the staff and children during the long winter months.

In 1902, Reverend Father Leon Balter assumed the principalship of the school. He maintained this position on his first assignment until 1914. As was the case during the principalship of his predecessor, despite many hardships, the school was very successful. Evidence of this was seen in the many favorable reports written about the school by Inspectors of Indian Schools and Oblate Superiors. Illustrative of these are the reports of W. J. Chisholm (Inspector from 1898 to 1905), C. F. Graiw (Medical Inspector, Department of Indian Affairs), and Emile Ev. de St. Albert.

> I have to-day had the pleasure for the first time of visiting the Saddle Lake Boarding School. The teaching hours of the day were spent in the class-rooms, and the remainder of the day in observing the various portions of the building and the equipment in general. The pupils acquitted themselves very creditably in the various subjects of their studies, and their conduct in and out of the class-room was admirable. The school material and the pupils' clothing are in perfect order and nothing is over-looked that could conduce to the comfort and well-being of the children. I might add that through the kindness and courtesy of the Reverend Principal and his staff, my visit, in company with Mr. August and Mrs. Sibbald, was rendered most enjoyable.
>
> W.J. Chisholm
> March 27th, 1899 Inspector
> (Grey Nuns Archives)

> Yesterday and today I made my regular inspection of this institution. I find the buildings and premises in a state of perfect order, the attendance much improved, and the children healthy and happy. The debt which is due the Reverend Principal and the Reverend Sisters for their self-sacrifice in behalf of these children is one which I do not attempt to estimate and which can never be paid in this life.
>
> W. J. Chisholm
> April 18th, 1905 Inspector
> (Grey Nuns Archives)

> Since my last inspection of the school I find a great improvement in the building and good wholesome water supply has been added.
>
> The pupils look clean, healthy and happy. It has been a great pleasure to visit the institutions and find it in such good order and sanitary.
>
> Wishing the Sisters prosperity and a continuation of their good work.
>
> C. F. Graiw
> Medical Inspector
> September 13/10/16 Department of Indian Affairs
> (Grey Nuns Archives)

> Some people who go to the frontier find that the education of the Indian races is progressing well. But it seems to me, on the contrary, that the results obtained are very limited. The complete transformation of those races is not accomplished in one generation alone and it is necessary to admit the inevitable—that they will retain certain characteristics always. But in every case, on each successive visit to reserves, given educational institutions and in particular to that at . . . [Saddle Lake], I am happy to record new progress. To give justice where justice is due, that progress is due to those who have dedicated themselves to that difficult task. They continue to devote themselves religiously to that good work. The spread of the word of God does not fail to benefit from their work.
>
> Emile J. Bishop of St. Albert.
> September 7/1905 (Grey Nuns Archives)

Such success was not solely the result of excellent teaching. Due credit must also be given to the talented and the artistic students who, year after year, completed many excellent projects. In August of 1927 some of their work was finally publicly recognized as their entries in the St. Paul Exposition won nine first prizes and six second prizes (Grey Nuns Archives). And two years later at the Regina Exposition the students of St. Joseph Residential School won fifteen first prizes, seven second prizes, and eight third prizes

Praiseworthy as were these successes, their commendability is best appreciated when the conditions under which they were attained are recognized. These were demanding, for throughout the years illness, severe weather conditions, fires, and lack of conveniences had to be endured by the Sisters and the students. At times these conditions were critical. In August of 1900, for instance, the crops were not only ravaged by insects but also seriously damaged by an early frost. The sole redeeming factor was the plentiful potato crop that assured at least minimum provision for the winter months. Tragedy struck again in 1901 when all the children were afflicted with measles. Two died from the illness. Six years later the influenza epidemic spread across the reserve. Sister Nantel, acting as nurse and doctor, dedicated endless hours to the needs of the sick and famished Indians (Blue Quills, 1862-1935, pp. 72-73).

Another disaster occurred in April 1919 when a fire destroyed everything except the Sisters' convent. All the agricultural machinery, the barns, the haystack, and the stored grain were burned. Nothing was salvaged. So dire were the circumstances at the mission following the conflagration that the Sisters had to beg for donations in order to survive (Blue Quills, 1862-1935, pp. 76-78). Adding to the hardships caused by the fire was the typhoid fever that swept across the reserve in October. The disease spread among most of the children, six of whom died. Sisters Nantel, Xaverine, Brynoll, and Céline also took ill. The latter two died in December of that year. Though such troubles were accepted as God's will, it was necessary to send the children home until March, 1920 (Blue Quills, 1862-1935, p. 87).

Throughout this time, these adversities had to be met without any labor-saving facilities or conveniences. However, remarkable progress was accomplished in August of 1916 when a well was dug and water services were installed. The Sisters were overjoyed: "Les toilettes sont au complet: éviers, cabinets, baignoires et en fer émaillé, síl vou plait" (*Circulair Bimestrielle*, 1915–16, p. 560). Also, during that year, and in subsequent years, other innovations and repairs were made. Despite the tragedies and the difficult working conditions, the mission survived and maintained its high standard of service.

Similarly, St. Joseph Residential School, under the capable administration of the Grey Nuns, was a successful enterprise. Despite this, by 1928 other plans for the administration of the school and its location were being considered. Within a year a basic change was implemented. On May 8, 1929 the administration of the school was transferred to the Oblate Fathers. Reverend Father Gabillon, Oblates of Mary Immaculate, assumed the position of principal of the school and with the assistance of seven Sisters, one Oblate Brother, and two male employees, he continued to care for the twenty-seven boys and thirty-six girls.

Two years later a second consideration was acted upon. On December 6, 1931 the Indians helped move the Sisters to Blue Quills—the new location of the residential school. At this new site, the Grey Nuns continued to educate the Indian and Métis children until 1970. They left in 1970 because in that year the Indians, under Harold Cardinal's leadership, took over the administration of the school.

Contemporary Involvement

From the time of early colonization in Alberta to relatively recent times, the Grey Nuns have made valuable contributions in the fields of education, nursing, and social work. Currently, some are still involved in teaching or related fields while others are engaged in nursing or affiliated areas. As of February, 1978 there was still a total of one hundred and thirteen sisters active in various fields in the province, answering to the needs of today. To cite one example, on June 4, 1978 the Grey Nuns opened a rehabilitation center in Midnapore to assist young, needy girls achieve personal fulfillment and become responsible members of society.

The idea of establishing such a center was first proposed to the Sisters in early 1977. Though challenging, the invitation was accepted with delight because it struck at the very heart of the Grey Nuns Mission: "Finding an effective answer, in the Evangelical Order to the appeals of the Poor today" (Grey Nuns' Archives, Youville Memorial Residence, Document 19, p. 1).

The Sisters Faithful Companions of Jesus

Foundations

The Society of Sisters Faithful Companions of Jesus was founded in 1820 at Amiens, France, by Viscountess de Bonnault d'Hout. Born Marie Madeline de Begny, she was left a widow at the age of twenty-four and devoted the next fifteen years to raising her only child. During this time,

> she was a model Christian woman in the world, fulfilling her duties as mother and daughter and matron of a well-established household, where the calls of society were as much recognized as ordinances of the Divine Will in her regard as the morning and night prayers and Rosary in common characterized the daily routine.
> (The Sisters Faithful Companions to Jesus, 1920, p. 1)

Yet throughout this period she experienced an unremitting prompting to give herself totally to the Lord. Finally, on March 20, 1820, while praying before the Altar of Repose in a chapel in Paris she yielded. In the midst of her prayer she envisaged a scroll upon which were written four things the Lord demanded of her. These were: (a) To be his faithful companion; (b) To form a society that would educate children; (c) To organize retreats; and (d) To establish missions. In this humble manner, the Society of the Faithful Companions of Jesus was founded.

With two companions Viscountess de Bonnault began her mission by caring for and instructing seven poor children. Eventually, this humble beginning branched out into several foundations—schools, boarding schools, orphanages, retreats, and adult classes. This dedicated service won prominent recognition, and in 1837 the Society was approved by Pope Gregory XVI. By the time of the foundress' death on April 5, 1858, 29 foundations had been established in France, England, Savoy, Switzerland, Italy, and Ireland. Ten more convents were established after her death and prior to Bishop Vital Grandin's request for teachers in his ministry in the Canadian northwest.

The Westward Journey

In a letter dated May 22, 1882, Bishop Grandin, Bishop of the Northwest Territories, wrote to the Mother General of the Sisters Faithful Companions of Jesus requesting teachers for the Indians and Whites within his area of ministry. Mother Josephine Petit, Superior General of the Order, accepted the Bishop's invitation. Consequently, on May 11, 1883, eight members of the Society embarked on the *SS Peruvian* at Liverpool. On May 21 they arrived at Quebec City. The next day the sisters left for Montreal where they stayed for five days before leaving for Winnipeg. Ten days later Bishop Grandin, the Faithful Companions of Jesus Sisters, two priests, a number of Oblate Fathers and Brothers, and a few guides boarded the Dominion Express Train for Qu'Appelle where wagons were waiting to take them the remaining 600 miles to Deer Lake and St. Albert. Highlights of their daily routine are noted below:

> About 4 A.M. a loud *Benedicamus Domino* from our good Bishop is repeated at each tent. . . . In less than a quarter of an hour, we have to be dressed and our bundles made up.
>
> (The Sisters Faithful Companions to Jesus, 1883, p. 21).
>
> Our bundles made, we arranged them against the side of our tent, and Msgr. enters with his stand and box which serves for an altar. Then he brings his pillow, upon which he has laid his vestments, and upon which he throws the two tiny bottles containing the wine and the water. How fervently we prayed during the few moments that our Lord is sacramentally present.
>
> (The Sisters Faithful Companions to Jesus, 1883, p. 22)
>
> During the masses (for there were two or three every day) the guides light the fires and put on the saucepan.
>
> (The Sisters Faithful Companions to Jesus, 1883, pp. 23–24)
>
> [Our meals are spread on the grass.] Our fare was the same every day. . . . As soon as breakfast is over the Bishop takes down the tents. . . . Some of us wash up the breakfast things and put into the waggons [sic] our bundles, which serve for seats during the journey.
>
> (The Sisters Faithful Companions to Jesus, 1883, pp. 23–24)
>
> In a few minutes, we are closely packed in our covered waggon [sic] drawn by two horses, and thus we sit by turn singing, praying, reading, except when prevented by the jolting. . . . We proceed for four hours at a time toward the end of which we . . . are eagerly expecting and looking for the signal to camp.
>
> (The Sisters Faithful Companions to Jesus, 1883, p. 25)

The remainder of each day followed a similar pattern. In the evening, after erecting their tents and eating their evening meal, the sisters joined the rest of the group for night prayers. Following this observance, they retired for the night.

Though each day had a similar pattern, the day–to–day routine was often interrupted. Getting stuck in streams was a frequent cause of interruption. The Sisters recorded and sketched some of these crossings.

> This afternoon we passed the widest stream that we have yet to traverse; it was at least 35 feet wide, though not more than 2 or 2½ feet in depth.
>
> (The Sisters Faithful Companions to Jesus, 1883, p. 43)
>
> On June 23rd., near 10 A.M., in crossing a stream about 50 feet in width, the large cart again became embedded in the mud. Every means was tried to extricate it, four horses even were put to it, but all to no purpose. So the guide gave orders for the rest of the caravan to pass which was done in safety. We were obliged to camp and prepare dinner as well as we could without the men, who were all occupied with unloading the cart. . . . Whether the horses were too tired or what, we do not know, but all joined in a hearty laugh at seeing the men themselves draw the empty cart across, the horses standing on the opposite bank, looking very stupid.
>
> (The Sisters Faithful Companions to Jesus, 1883, pp. 52–53)

Another exigency that travellers frequently encountered were sudden storms and downpours. So suddenly did these begin and with such force did the rain beat down, that the group would be thoroughly wet before they could get out their protective garments. Mosquitoes added to their discomfort.

But there were also amiable times. Among the more pleasant were the intriguing encounters with the Natives. These always fascinated the newcomers. An excerpt from their diaries illustrates this point:

> We had just spread our beautiful tablecloth for breakfast next morning when who should appear on the scene but our five savages of the previous evening. They sat on the grass and watched us. They were of the Cree tribe, long black hair and feathers, anything but savage in appearance; some were good looking. They squatted on the ground enveloped in their would be white blankets; they wore trousers like men, some had blue bead necklaces and ear–rings, on one a brass thimble was suspended in the form of a locket. They spoke to Matthias and asked him to tell us that as we were using their prairie they would like us to give them something in return. We had nothing but food which we knew it would be Msgr.'s desire to give them. We gave them some biscuits and pieces of ham and filled their own tin cups with good tea. We noticed that they used a kind of skewer in eating and did not make as much use of their fingers as we expected they would. . . . Their faces beamed with pleasure.
>
> (The Sisters Faithful Companions to Jesus, 1883, p. 5)

Adding to the intrigue were the native dances. References in their daily accounts record observations of strange rhythmic patterns executed around a wood fire to the hollow beat of a drum.

Nor was it only the Indians that captured the Sisters' fascination and admiration. Inspiring indeed were the prairies that, with undulations that resembled waves, looked like boundless seas. Fascinating too was the bountiful wildlife with its array of color and sound. Regarding the latter, the diaries report that 506 different sounds were heard on the prairies.

The First Western Missions—St. Lawrence and Prince Albert (1883–1885)

During their first few months at the western missions, the Sisters Faithful Companions of Jesus were confronted with demanding challenges. First, they had to adapt to geographic and climatic conditions that were distinctly different from those that prevailed in their native land. Second, being a small and unique minority, they had to adapt to the customs of the country. Third, they were faced with the task of winning the confidence of the indigenous population which was predominantly Native and Métis. Prior to winning this confidence, the Sisters would receive only a few children at their school because parents were not only indifferent but also skeptical as to the education offered by the Faithful Companions of Jesus Sisters.

In a remarkably short time the Sisters' perseverance and determination overcame the first two problems. And their charity triumphed so that objections ceased and prejudices dissipated. In time, the order was constructed on a solid foundation and marked progress was made. Unfortunately, this progress was shortlived for within two years of their arrival they were caught in the midst of the turbulent Riel rebellion.

Such then were some of the facets of their westward journey—basically routine but interspersed with challenges, fascination, and intrigue. And after days of such experiences, the Sisters came in sight of civilization. On June 28 they were welcomed at St. Lawrence, forty miles distant from Prince Albert, by the parish priest. The very next morning, four of the Sisters left for their mission at Prince Albert. Several months later the youngest member of this party described the situation at the mission in a letter to her relatives. In this letter, she said:

> We have the happiness of possessing Our Lord under our roof; the tiny chapel is one third the size of the parlor in the old cottage at home, and as poor as possible. What matters since He is there! We seldom see a civilized person except the Missioners, all Oblates. We are more than 30 miles from anything like a town, but

> you have no idea how many things we can do without. This is a splendid place to work for God and Heaven, and I can be grateful enough to God for having given me the grace to devote myself here to His service. When you pray for me, let your prayers be on the thanksgiving, for God has been good to me.*

The opportunity to serve, it should be noted, was viewed as a "blessing."

> Riel raised his standard on the feast of St. Joseph, March 19, 1885, and the mission of Prince Albert seemed to be in peculiar danger from Riel's known animosity to the parish priest, Père André, who was . . [Riel's] bitterest enemy from the first . . . [because he had] always discountenanced his affected piety . . . [which was] used up to the last moment as a cloak to blind the poor Métis. Riel's first step was to plot Père André's death.
>
> (The Sisters Faithful Companions to Jesus, 1920, p. 20)

Because Prince Albert was strategically important, Riel's supporters cut off all communications to and from this western settlement. And because the soldiers and police for St. Albert's defence had not arrived, the inhabitants, particularly those directly affiliated with the official Catholic Church, found themselves in a potentially dangerous situation. Part of this latter group were the Faithful Companions of Jesus. So, for their protection, they were advised to go to the fort—the Presbyterian Church. An excerpt from the Sisters' diaries relates this experience.

> We put on our newest clothes, as we thought they, at least, would be saved; two small valises containing our papers and some valuable medicines, a rug, and a pair of overshoes each, were all that we were equipped with. . . . At 3 p.m. Père André came to confess us. He told us he would give us Holy Communion as Viaticum and thus consume all the Particles. . . . Père André had three sleighs to convey us to the fort. As we entered all our dear pupils and a great many other children ran to meet us. . . . Everyone's fears were for the worst; as, if the enemy came, nothing could have prevented a general massacre, the place was so poorly defended. . . . There were hundreds of women and children in the house. . . . At long last morning dawned and we returned to our Convent for a few hours. . . . About midday better news arrived, and at 4 p.m. the troops came. . . . Riel has now openly professed his disbelief in the Church of Rome; he says that he is infallible, and that he alone has the spirit of God. . . . As the troops had arrived everyone felt more at ease that night, and most of the families returned to their homes. . . . All were just ready to get into bed when a horseman galloped past the house crying out: 'Come, come, they are on us.' The alarm bell was sounded, and at the same time Père André screamed to us: 'Sisters! Come, for God's sake, come at once!' . . . Our big girls could see to themselves, but our little darling Métis, Ellen Bonette, not yet six years old! . . . Each of us, in spite of the screaming of Père André had the presence of mind to put on her habit and cap, and seize a rug or shawl. I threw one of my petticoats round little Ellen, for she had only her chemise on. . . . It was very cold, and deep snow; but there was nothing to do but to fly to the fort, which was about a

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*This entire quotation is extracted from a letter written about 1883 by an unspecified Sister.

> quarter of an hour's walk from our house. We were in too great haste to feel the cold, even though we had no stockings on. . . . The general opinion that the Nuns were a protection caused a flocking of our dear pupils and their parents around us, and while sitting for three long hours of dreadful suspense they clung to us and joined fervently in the prayers we said aloud. . . . We were simply packed to the floor; all the same we were to lie as prostrate as possible and not move or scream. No one could describe what we went through. . . . Between one and two o'clock in the morning what was our relief to be told that the alarm had been given unnecessarily! A guard had seen some Indians fighting in the bushes a few miles from here, and at once thought the whole party was approaching. . . . [In the morning] we could not refrain from laughing at ourselves for the picture we were. . . . Père André, boots unfastened, dragging along in the snow beside us, carrying our little treasure, Ellen, whose bare feet projecting beyond her only covering were put into one of the good Father's buffalo mittens. . . . When we arrived, the first thing after dressing ourselves was to have Mass. . . . That night we lay on our beds ready dressed to go out.
>
> (Majeau, 1978, pp. 16–17)

In the case of the Sisters at St. Lawrence, their experiences were quite different because they were closer to the combat zone. Imminent danger compelled them to leave St. Lawrence, hoping to join their Sisters at Prince Albert. During this venture their guide got lost in the wooded region and the group had to spend the night in pouring rain. The following day, still on their way to Prince Albert, the cart wheel snapped and they had to spend another night out of doors—this time, under a heavy wet blanket of snow. Consequently, they had to return to St. Lawrence.

Receiving information about the brave attempt, Riel sent word to the Sisters that they would be safe if they came to his headquarters at St. Anthony's in Batoche. He even sent two wagons and an escort for their transfer. The Sisters had little choice but to accept the invitation. In their diaries they describe their arrival and welcome.

> On one side of the river stood the smoking tents of the Crees and half of the Métis soldiers; on the other the camp of the Sioux, and seven or eight pretty houses in which the remainder of the Métis soldiers were lodged. At the bottom of a woody hillock, and overlooking all, stood the church and mission of St. Anthony of Padua. Several men with great demonstrations of respect and hat in hand came to give us welcome. Several Indians also came to give us a vigorous shake hands, whilst others, in dresses and undresses the most original, began to execute strange gambols. . . . Sometime later we heard a gentle knock at the door; it was Riel who, notwithstanding the advanced hour of the night, had just come across the river to give us welcome. . . . by Mr. Riel's orders we were shown to the best house in the place. . . . Then it was remarked to Mr. Riel that we should be just in the midst of the noise and would have neither Holy Mass nor the Blessed Sacrament. . . . We asked him to give us a little corner where we could be quiet and retired. The Chief answered that he perfectly understood our wishes and that the mission of St. Anthony's was sufficiently near the Métis camp to afford us safe shelter. . . .

> He immediately sent for Père Frequeville, who kindly offered us the upper story of their house and we heartily thanked them for their hospitality.
>
> (Majeau, 1978, pp. 17–18)

For over a month the Sisters stayed at St. Anthony's. During this time they survived on the flour, bacon, tea, and milk that was given to them by a compassionate Métis. Then one day they saw the Canadian vanguards advancing and razing the houses they came to. The Sisters were not entirely spared from the conflict. Relating this ordeal they recorded the following:

> We were soon startled by a great crash, followed by pieces of plaster falling on the table and even on our heads, and we knew the house had been struck. We began to say our Rosary, and when Père Moulin waved a white rag the firing immediately ceased. In a minute or two a Father called up to us: 'Mothers, it is time to show yourselves.' We obeyed and advanced with the Fathers. The Canadian army was drawn up in battle order almost as far as the eye could reach. The General and his staff were on horseback; they all advanced to salute us, the General leading the way. Great was their astonishment at seeing 'Sisters' in such a place. . . . Their many questions were followed by apologies and expressions of regret for the involuntary fright they had caused us. . . . The General gave orders for his men to form a large circle around the mission.
>
> (Majeau, 1978, p. 18)

After ensuring the safety of the mission, the Canadians engaged Riel's troops. Fighting continued for the rest of the day with the Sisters attending to the wounded soldiers. At eight that night Middleton's forces retired. No sooner did they retreat than the Métis came to the mission to check if any soldiers were still on the premises. Though fearing retaliation for having helped the soldiers, the Sisters had no choice but to consent to a search of the mission. However, their fears were unwarranted for after completing the search, the Métis went off shouting, "Goodnight, Sisters, do not be frightened."

On the following day, fighting resumed. Both camps had moved closer to the mission so that the Sisters were literally in the midst of the battle. Here they remained with bullets whistling over the house, until May 12 when the Canadians finally captured Batoche. When General Middleton saw the Faithful Companions of Jesus he asked them what had brought them to the far west. To this they replied, "The Love of God." The general, in return, advised them that they should go elsewhere to exercise their piety since it was not safe at the mission. To ensure their wellbeing, the general provided the Sisters with an escort back to St. Lawrence. They arrived at the latter on May 19. Three days later they joined their sisters at Prince Albert.

In the meantime, Bishop Grandin was seriously concerned about the Sisters' safety. And he had reason to be concerned, for during the uprising two of his missionaries were killed and several missionary headquarters were destroyed. However, he could do nothing during the months of strife. But once the Sisters were freed from Batoche, Bishop Grandin took immediate steps to move them to Calgary. To this end he appointed Father Leduc to arrange for the move to the foothills.

Leaving Prince Albert on July 10, the Sisters arrived at Calgary on July 26, 1885. Here they were warmly welcomed by Father Lacombe. The Sisters were happy to be in Calgary and delighted in the prospect of establishing a school.

In fact, reconstruction of the Faithful Companions of Jesus' new home to prepare for the school began immediately. On this matter, the Sisters recorded the following:

> We were fully resolved to open our classes on the day fixed the 1st of September, even if it were necessary to give our lessons in the garden. Happily everything was finished on time. . . . On the ground floor we have a little chapel . . . a parlour, the children's refectory . . . and St. Mary's School (two class rooms).
>
> (The Sisters Faithful Companions to Jesus, 1883, p. 31)

As noted above, the school opened on September 1, 1883. Twenty pupils enrolled for classes. Many were Métis who spoke neither English nor French.

Once the Faithful Companions of Jesus started their school, Mother Mary Griene, the Superior, applied to receive government recognition. On December 18, 1885, by the proclamation of the Lieutenant Governor of the Northwest Territories, Edgar Dewdney, this recognition was attained, and the Lacombe Roman Catholic Separate School District No. 1 came into existence. The name was given in honor to Father Lacombe. It was changed to Calgary Separate School District in 1911 to avoid confusion with the school district in the town of Lacombe. Before the close of the year, this school was visited by the Lieutenant Governor and was highly praised by him.

In the next seven years, many other Catholic districts were formed. Seven such districts, for example, were formed in 1885 in the Edmonton area. And in 1888 the Catholics in Edmonton applied to Regina for approval to establish a separate school district. The application was successful. On October 26, 1888, St. Joachim's School District No. 7 was established. On November 7 of the same year the school opened with a staff of five Faithful Companions of Jesus and a pupil enrollment of twenty-three. By Christmas the enrollment rose to thirty-five.

The program of studies that the Sisters offered was considerably richer than that outlined by the territorial authorities. Besides the three Rs, spelling, grammar, geography, and history, the Sisters offered French, ethics, calisthenics, literature, composition, drawing, object lessons, bookkeeping, music (and Kindergarten). Overall, they offered an excellent education. The following exemplary reports, written by two federal officials, give testimony to this claim.

> I have great pleasure in stating that in the course of the Examinations which the children . . . [of the Edmonton school] have undergone today, I have found them advanced if one takes into consideration that the school has existed less than a year. The system of teaching followed therein appears excellent and the progress of the pupils in all branches satisfactory.
>
> A. M. Burgess
> Deputy Minister of the Interior Canada
> (*Annals of the Faithful Companions of Jesus Convent*, 1889)

> Having been invited by the Reverend P. Vegreville and the Sisters charged with the Catholic Schools of Edmonton to assist at seance given by the pupils, I am happy to testify to the remarkable results obtained in the short time the school has been open and to the system of instruction by means of which considerable progress has resulted.
>
> E. Deville
> Surveyor-General of Canada
> (*Annals of the Faithful Companions of Jesus Convent*, 1889)

Such success undoubtedly played a vital role in the continuing expansion of separate school districts. For instance, only a year after the Faithful Companions of Jesus came to Edmonton, requests were being made to their Superior General for sisters to serve at Lethbridge. At the same time, strong support for the establishment of a separate school district in Lethbridge was given by key figures such as Fathers Legal, Lacombe, and Van Tighem. With such support success was certain. And so on April 3, 1889 the first Catholic separate school (St. Aloysius) in Lethbridge was officially opened with Mr. McCrae as teacher. On December 31, 1890, a group of Faithful Companions of Jesus took charge of the school and its fifty-seven students. Though hardships were many, as noted earlier, official reports give testimony to the outstanding work done by the Sisters. And this excellence is maintained by the Faithful Companions of Jesus who are still actively involved in teaching at the elementary and high school levels in Alberta's major cities.

CHAPTER IV

ALBERTA—1905 to 1912

Political Developments

For three years prior to 1905 the question of provincial autonomy for the Northwest Territories had been the subject of occasional discussions in Ottawa and at the conferences between the Dominion Government and Mr. Haultain, Premier of the Territories. During this period the members of the Territories had kept up a clamour for provincial status. For example, in February 1903, "Very forcible speeches were delivered in the Assembly at Regina on the Rights of the Northwest. The fact of the increase in representation was cited in support of the claims and importance of the Territories" (MacRae, 1912, p. 450). Subsequently, at the 1904 session of the Dominion Parliament there was much discussion regarding the question of provincial autonomy for the Northwest. Later in the year, when Sir Wilfred Laurier's government went to the country for another mandate, he promised to grant the Territories such status.

Laurier's party won handily in the 1904 elections—the Liberals elected 149 members against the Conservatives' 75 (Tanghe, 1966, p. 58). Accordingly, in 1905, Laurier placed the Autonomy Bills before Parliament. At that session the House of Commons passed the Alberta Act and the Saskatchewan Act, creating the two new provinces.

Actually, the Bill divided itself into four principal parts: (1) the number of Provinces, (2) the ownership of Crown Lands, (3) the financial terms to be granted, and (4) the school system to be introduced or continued.

A major political development in Alberta and Saskatchewan followed the passage of the Autonomy Acts—party lines became clearly drawn. Before 1905, representatives to the Northwest Council, and later the Legislative Assembly, were elected as individuals and local issues were as likely to determine the pattern of voting as were Territorial concerns.

> There was an unwritten but strong obligation recognized that the good government of the Territories depended upon the elimination of federal politics and the decision of all questions relating to the North West on their merits as affecting the welfare of the Territories.
>
> (Blue, 1924, p. 117)

Dominant among those who resisted the tendency of politicians to impose party divisions on the new provinces was Haultain. His position was made clear in a letter to the editor of the *Regina Leader* at the height of the autonomy crisis in August of 1905:

> I stand for non-party government regardless of what any political party or both sides may decide. To me the welfare and interests of this great western country are more, and always have been more important than the success or convenience of any political party.
>
> (*Regina Leader*, 1905, p. 2)

Although in federal politics Haultain was a Conservative, his administrative colleagues were either Liberals or Conservatives. Evidently this was satisfactory to the majority of the territorial voters for they gave him steady support. There were, of course, some who believed otherwise "and in 1903 a convention of territorial Conservatives carried by a large majority . . . a resolution to fight the next election on party lines" (Thomas, 1959, p. 3).

Of utmost importance for the future of party politics was the shaping of the bill that would give form to the autonomy proposals. This matter was of particular concern to the Liberals for,

> if Haultain's views triumphed, and he became the first prime minister of a single vast province, his views on provincial administration might also prevail, and he would be . . . head of a non-partisan ministry. . . . If this were to fall apart in the future, Haultain might be expected to uphold the Conservative party in the provincial field. There was, when the year 1905 opened, a real question whether for all practical purposes there was to be in the new province any provincial Liberal party at all.
>
> (Thomas, 1959, p. 8)

The key to this question was the political future of Haultain.

Before the Autonomy Bill was passed it was taken for granted that Haultain would be the premier of the new province, or of one of the new provinces. But the bill, as it emerged from consultation and as Laurier presented it, disappointed Haultain. It contradicted his views on three important points for it provided for the establishment of two provinces, the retention by the Dominion of public lands, and the right of the minority to establish their own schools and to share in public moneys. These points became issues of serious contention between Haultain and the Territorial Conservatives and the Liberal Government at Ottawa. The upshot of this confrontation was the exclusion of Haultain from the office of premier and the entrenchment of party government in both provinces.

The consolidation of partisan government in Alberta prepared the ground for the introduction of new political parties. In the decades to come two 'novel' parties gained sweeping victories in the province—victories that were succeeded by long tenure. Both of these parties played prominent roles in shaping Alberta's future.

At that moment, however, Albertans were faced with the task of electing their first provincial government—a difficult task since "the staples of provincial elections, scandals and complaints of ministerial incompetence, were lacking" (Thomas, 1959, p. 23). Both parties, basing their campaigns on personalities and promises, put forward their platforms before the summer of 1905. With the cares of office already on their shoulders and a congenial government in power at Ottawa, the Liberals were in a position to approach the contentious issues more circumspectly than their opponents.

> The dangerous subjects of natural resources and the school system were started in an expression of the convention's adherence to the principle of Provincial rights and its determination to maintain intact and unimpaired the full legislative and executive authority of the Province of Alberta under the constitution of Canada. While some Conservatives demanded the elimination of the separate school, the Liberals resolved in favour of an efficient system of common schools and equal opportunity to obtain good primary education in schools that, if supported by taxation, should be subject to the direct and continuous supervision, regulation and control of the Provincial department of education. In reply to the Conservative demand for public ownership of utilities, the Liberals merely suggested that the desirability of retaining or acquiring control of all provincial franchises should be kept steadily in view. They stressed the need for every possible encouragement to the all-important agricultural industry and particularly for every legitimate assistance in reaching markets with the least possible loss of profit through excessive freight rates or the intervention of middle men. For the moment they saw no need to incur any provincial public debt or to pledge, alienate, or hypothecate the assets of the province.
>
> (Thomas, 1959, p. 25)

The advantage of having a congenial government at Ottawa, the nature of their platform, and, undoubtedly, the type of personalities that campaigned in the election, were factors largely responsible for sweeping the Liberal government into power. According to government claims immediately after the election, the Liberals won twenty-one of the twenty-five seats. With this mandate, Alberta's newly elected legislature set about the task of assisting with the development of its multi-resourced province.

One of the burning questions of the first session concerned the determination of the capital of Alberta. Calgary, Edmonton, Strathcona, Red Deer, and Banff were all contenders for this honor. A sixteen-to-eight vote in favor of Edmonton settled the issue. Other important measures of legislation included taxation of the right of way of railroads, bonusing the sugar beet industry, and an act permitting municipalities to establish and operate telephones.

The most important legislation in 1907 was the government's decision to set up the Alberta Government Telephone Company. This step was taken to protect the public from the alleged monopoly of the Bell Telephone Company. In this same year new measures of taxation were introduced—measures which made it possible to tax corporations and assess land outside of school districts. Taxes from the latter were earmarked for the support of education.

Little legislation was attempted in 1905. However, a number of important acts were passed. These included the Workmen's Compensation Act and an act to empower the Government to lease, construct, maintain, and operate telephone and telegraph lines.

In 1909 the most important question of the session was railways. As was to be expected in an agricultural province, the politicians paid heed to what the farmers wanted. And the farmers, particularly those that settled in districts remote from main lines, demanded a forward railway policy. So despite the problems that attended the venture of guaranteeing the securities of branch lines, "No member dared question the need for more rail lines" (MacGregor, 1972, p. 211). With such an appealing policy with respect to the extension of railway lines, Premier Rutherford swept his party back into power in the 1909 elections. (Thirty-seven Liberals were elected to the forty-one-member house.)

Following the election, the policy of encouraging railway construction by a guarantee of bonds was continued. The total railway securities guaranteed by the 1911 Acts involved $25,755,000. "By the end of 1911 the government had taken under its wing securities totalling forty-four million dollars for a total of 3,074 miles of line" (MacGregor, 1972, p. 211). Few guarantees were given by the Legislature after this extravagant session.

Economic Progress

Economic progress of any pioneer community depends largely on whether settlers are able to produce in exportable quantities some commodity or commodities that are salable outside the community. As has been illustrated, the first permanent settlers of the Territories met this challenge with a measure of success. Nor was their progress interrupted by the establishment of the province. Rather, a combination of factors increased the tempo and development of production.

An astounding growth of railway mileage—from 1,060 miles in 1905 to 3,074 miles in 1912—opened steel highways making thousands of fertile acres accessible. At the same time, Sifton's immigration policy, stirred by Frank Oliver, shifted into high gear and after 1906 brought about another doubling of Alberta's population (*Alberta Facts and Figures*, 1950, p. 19). Many of these immigrants settled in the 'accessible' regions referred to above. Consequently, the crop area in the Province of Alberta "increased at an extraordinarily rapid rate; in 1904 it was but 298,433 acres; in 1907, 576,821 acres; and in 1910 the . . . total of 1,808,719 acres" (MacRae, 1912, p. 467). The comparison of the value of field crops (wheat, oats, barley, rye, peas, beans, mixed grains, flaxseed, etc.) in 1906, and after five years, shows an increase that is striking. In the former year the field crops for Alberta were valued at $6,590,960; in 1911 the crops reached a value of $21,603,217.

In quantitative measure, the livestock industry did not show such marked growth. In terms of value, however, the increase between 1906 and 1911 was relatively substantial. An activity related to the livestock industry, dairy production, also showed signs of progress. From 1906 to 1910 the value of dairy products escalated from $2,000,000 to $7,855,761.

Coal production, on the other hand, remained relatively stable. In 1906, the total production was 1,385,000 tons. Five years later production was increased by only 309,564 tons. Mining of other minerals, however, showed marked development. Statistics for 1907 indicate that the total value of minerals (including natural gas) was $4,657,524. By 1912 this had increased almost fourfold.

As seen from the above, Alberta experienced a period of prosperity during the years 1905 to 1912. Examination of demographic data shows that the period of general prosperity corresponded to the years Alberta's population was increasing most rapidly. This suggests that there may have been a causal relationship between the economic buoyancy and the population growth. Support for such a suggestion is found in the works of political economists who have studied the economic problems of the Canadian prairies during the settlement period (Mackintosh, 1935, pp. 1-5).

Population and Immigration: 1905–1912

> The Canadian government had long been ready to welcome immigrants to the prairies. As early as 1870, when the province of Manitoba was created, the federal government had retained control over its natural resources; it would

> retain the same control over the lands in the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta. . . . In this way the federal government could grant any bona fide settler a free homestead of 160 acres without any interference from the governments of the . . . prairie provinces. Other prerequisites for orderly settlement had also been provided before the turn of the century. The Indians had been located on reserves, the North West Mounted Police were enforcing the law, the Canadian Pacific Railway had been built, the land had been surveyed, and municipal and territorial government had been established.
>
> (Neatby, 1968, p. 142)

Two factors, however, offset the conditions conducive to immigration. These were: the abundance of free land farther east in Manitoba and Saskatchewan and the decade of depression that prevailed in Canada, the United States, and Europe. As a result, the last fifteen years of the nineteenth century saw but a creeping influx of farmers to Alberta. But about 1897 "the sunrise of settlement [in this province] displayed its many attractions to diverse peoples seeking freedom and free land" (MacGregor, 1972, p. 163).

Impetus to this development was given by Sir Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior from 1896–1905. A dynamic salesman, Sifton advertised Canadian homesteads in thousands of American, English, and European newspapers. Missions and bureaus were established abroad; publicists were sent to staff them and journalists from Europe, England, and the United States were brought to Western Canada to see the prairies for themselves. Steamships and railways, with special rates for settlers, were drawn into his plan. Fairs, exhibitions and public displays around the world were utilized to destroy the myth of a frozen north.

> Wherever a restless man looked up Sifton intended him to see the great sheaf of wheat and the beckoning gateway to the golden west. His energy was a little frightening and the possibilities of trouble were limitless. This ruthless . . . man . . . [sought] all but absolute power over four million acres of land. He . . . [sought] the power and machinery to exploit them . . . and to take what he could get in the way of humankind.
>
> (Schull, 1965, p. 338)

And Sifton got what he wanted. His immigration policy put, as it was, into effect at a propitious time, brought thousands of immigrants. Further, the impetus he gave to the settlement of the prairies survived his tenure as Minister of the Interior. Population figures for the Province of Alberta are indicative of what occurred in the Canadian West during this era.

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As was to be expected, the majority of the population throughout this period was classed as rural. The figures below illustrate this point.

Table 2

Alberta Population *

Period	*Population No.*	*Period*	*Population No.*	*Increase No.*	*Increase Per Cent*
From 1881	18,076	To - 1891	25,277	7,201	39.84
From 1891	25,277	To - 1901	73,022	47,745	188.86
From 1901	73,022	To - 1906	185,195	112,173	153.62
From 1906	185,195	To - 1911	374,295	189,100	102.11

Table 3

Rural Population **

Period	*Population No.*	*Period*	*Population No.*
From 1901	54,489	To - 1906	127,320
From 1906	127,320	To - 1911	236,633

Table 4

Urban Population **

Period	*Population No.*	*Period*	*Population No.*
From 1901	18,533	To - 1906	57,875
From 1906	57,875	To - 1911	137,662

(Urban population figures include all the individuals who resided in cities, towns, or villages.)

Sociocultural Developments

Many of the European immigrants had come to Alberta because they were underprivileged or idealistic. A good number of them, while complaining of the lack of social progress in their homelands,

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* *(Alberta Facts & Figures*, 1950, p. 19)

** *(Alberta Facts & Figures*, 1950, p. 21)

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> Had overlooked the services, institutions and public works they had enjoyed and until they had come to the Canadian prairies many had failed to realize that as yet there were none of these in the homestead areas. . . . In their homelands they had looked to someone higher up to provide these facilities and here they looked to some government to supply them, often not realizing at first that they themselves were the government.
>
> (MacGregor, 1972, p. 183)

Among these were idealistically inclined individuals with British socialist backgrounds. Teaming up with immigrants of similar orientation from the United States, and becoming involved in agrarian political revolt, they believed the millenium could be inaugurated by the mere passage of legislation. Many of their ideas were good and brought about needed reform, but when they moved from the agrarian to the economic field they put pressure on all levels of government which often resulted in wasteful ventures—for example, providing provincial guarantees for branch railway lines.

Then too, the farmers of the West quickly resented the colonial type of lordship that was exerted by the Federal Government and eastern capital. As early as 1833 farmers in Manitoba and Saskatchewan began to organize themselves to protect their interests against eastern influence. During the next fifteen years the prairie farmers, borrowing ideas from the Patrons of Industry in the United States, and calling their organization the Canadian Farmers' Alliance, repeated their objections to tariffs, their distrust of elevator companies, and their dislike of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

In Alberta, the farmers' movement started after 1867 when Edmonton held the first agricultural exhibition in the northwest and when its agricultural society was organized. By 1891, with the arrival of the Patrons of Industry in the area, the farm movement began to assume a more militant form. A parallel movement saw the organization of the farmers' association which by 1904 had a number of branches.

In the years that followed, farmers' associations witnessed two major developments: (1) a marked increase in membership, and (2) greater involvement in the political arena. This trend, favored by economic, political, and social conditions, culminated in the formation of a farmers' political party which, in 1921, inflicted upon the Liberals an overwhelming defeat. For the next fourteen years this party, the United Farmers of Alberta, maintained mastery of the provincial legislature.

Less vociferous but still an important part of Alberta's social makeup were the early labor unions. Railwaymen and many of the miners had been members of unions before coming to the West and on their arrival sought to protect their interests by forming associations. The first unions in Alberta were: (1) The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, formed at Medicine Hat on January 6, 1887—soon followed by other lodges in the transportation trade; and (2) the railway carmen's local at Calgary organized in 1900.

Coalminers were not far behind the railwaymen in banding together. In 1901 they set up a local in Lethbridge. Two years later it was superseded by the United Mine Workers of America. In time other groups of miners came under the supervision of the Trades and Labor Congress and the Canadian Labor Congress. For a few years after 1906 the International Workers of the World became a radical and unwanted factor in Alberta's labor activity but quietened down with the outbreak of World War I. By 1906 also, the United Mine Workers of America had become involved in Alberta affairs.

> By 1906 most of the trades in the province had been organized. Even before the Great War the attitude of the employers and of the government towards labour had undergone a marked change and the right of working men to organize had come to be recognized. Labour relations, in spite of occasional unwarranted strikes caused by jurisdictional disputes, had started along the path to better wages and working conditions.
>
> (MacGregor, 1972, p. 185)

But despite the unions' effectiveness in the economic field, labor has yet to make a successful entrance onto Alberta's political stage.

In another area labor leaders (as well as those individuals who spearheaded the formation of farmers' unions and the United Farmers' Association) merit recognition. Capitalizing on the effectiveness of one of the basic factors which shape men's ideas and institutions—economics (Mulhern, 1959, p. 4), these organizers effectively banded together people of diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds to support a common cause. The range of diversity is evident from the tables following.

In other areas, however, there were conflicts and divergent opinions. The language debate, the school question, ethnic parochialism, and immigration are examples of problems that the governments and Albertans had to resolve. Reserving comment on the first three to a later section, the writer will briefly discuss the fourth issue.

As was indicated in the section on population, Sifton's policies put immigration into high gear. Among other strategies he introduced, Sifton shifted Canadian publicity to rural areas in central and eastern Europe. Reaction to this campaign quickly followed.

Table 5

Population by Racial Origins 1901 and 1911 *

Racial Origins	*1901 No.*	*Per Cent of Total*	*1911 No.*	*Per Cent of Total*
British Isles	34,903	47.80	192,629	51.46
English	16,490	22.58	97,922	26.16
Irish	8,161	11.18	36,721	9.81
Scotch	9,866	13.51	54,866	14.66
Other	386	.53	3,120	.83
Europe	24,110	33.02	132,921	35.51
Asia	243	.34	2,097	.56
Other	13,456	18.43	12,381	3.31
Not Stated	305	.41	34,267	9.16
Total	73,022	100%	374,295	100%

Table 6

Distribution of Population—European Races 1911 *

Racial Origins	*1901 No.*	*Per Cent of Total*	*1911 No.*	*Per Cent of Total*
German	7,836	10.73	36,862	9.85
Ukrainian				
Scandinavian	3,940	5.40	28,046	7.49
Danish				
Icelandic				
Norwegian				
Swedish				
French	4,511	6.18	19,792	5.29
Polish			2,243	.60
Dutch	369	.51	2,951	.79
Russian				
Czech and Slovak				
Hungarian				
Austrian				
Italian	109	.15	2,139	.57
Roumanian				
Belgian	154	.21	1,269	.34
Bulgarian				
Finnish				
Greek			1,588	.42
Jewish (Hebrew)			129	.03

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* *(Alberta Facts & Figures, 1950, p. 40)*

Lettish	17	.02	1,486	.40
Lithuanian				
Swiss	132	.18	1,200	.32
Yugoslavia				
Other European Races	7,042	9.64	35,216	9.41
Total European Races	24,110	33.02	132,921	35.51

Table 7

Population—by Religious Denomination 1901 and 1911 *

Racial Origins	*1901 No.*	*Per Cent of Total*	*1911 No.*	*Per Cent of Total*
Adventist	215	.29	1,825	.49
Anglican	9,634	13.19	55,602	14.86
Baptist	3,010	4.12	19,602	5.21
Brethren	75	.10	464	.12
United Brethren	526	.72	---	---
Buddhist	84	.12	---	---
Christian	241	.33	2,360	.63
Christian Science	33	.05	---	---
Church of Christ Disciples	16	.02	516	.14
Church of God	30	.04	---	---
Confucian	11	.02	---	---
Doukhobor	---	---	---	---
Evangelical Church	74	.10	---	---
Greek Catholic		See Roman Catholic		
Greek Orthodox	4,633	6.34	18,149	4.85
International Bible Students' Assoc.	---	---	---	---
Jewish	242	.33	1,207	.32
Lutheran	5,925	8.11	43,311	11.58
Mennonite (incl. Hutterites)	522	.71	1,524	.41
Moravian	---	---	---	---
Mormon	3,212	4.40	9,793	2.62
Pentecostal	---	---	---	---
Plymouth Brethren	16	.02	---	---
Presbyterian	11,597	15.88	66,344	17.73
Protestant	388	.53	4,042	1.08
Reformed Church	---	---	---	---
Roman Catholic	15,464	21.19	61,902	16.54
Salvation Army	90	.13	1,082	.29
United Church of Canada	---	---	---	---
Other Religious Denominations	3,308	4.53	17,556	4.69
Not Stated	3,187	4.36	4,662	1.24
Congregationalists	364	.51	2,621	.69
Methodists	10,125	13.86	61,844	16.51
Total	73,022	100%	374,295	100%

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* *(Alberta Facts & Figures*, 1950, p. 45)

> Growing criticisms . . . [were voiced about] a policy which established colonies of central Europeans in western Canada—colonies which brought prairie land into production but which preserved languages, customs, and a way of life that were different and alien.
>
> (Neatby, 1968, p. 143)

Sifton ignored the criticism. His confidence in the ostracized immigrants was demonstrated in the following statement:

> I think . . . that a stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for generations, with a stout wife and half a dozen children, is good quality.
>
> (Neatby, 1968, p. 143)

For Sifton it was enough that these peasants could grow wheat on what had been unproductive sod. Other individuals had broader concerns—concerns that have already been mentioned and to which reference will again be made.

Political, Economic, and Sociocultural Factors—Their Implications for Education

When outlining the issues contained in the Autonomy Bills Laurier stated that "not the least important by any means was the question of schools which . . . should be continued in the Territories" (*Debates of the House of Commons*, 1905, Col. 1426). If one were to regard the reaction that followed the first reading of the Bill as a standard of importance, then the Prime Minister's statement was eminently correct. As soon as it was introduced, the bill became a controversial issue in the country, and particularly in the House of Commons. Basically, the question was whether the Dominion Government should place restrictions on the legislative powers of the new province with respect to education.

Many of those who participated in the debate maintained that the problem was principally a matter of interpreting the constitutional provisions relating to education in section 93 of the British North America Act. The relevant part of section 93 reads as follows:

> In and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to Education, subject and according to the following provisions: (1) Nothing in any such Law shall prejudicially affect any Right or Privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any Class of Persons may have by Law in the Province at the Union.*

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* The full text of this section is found in Appendix C of the unpublished dissertation, *Curriculum development in Alberta*, by Nick Kach, 1977.

Originally section 93 applied to the first four provinces that had joined together in 1867 to form the Dominion of Canada. By 1905, however, it was generally believed that the provisions of this section should also be applied to provinces joining the union after confederation. Therefore, when the Autonomy Bills for the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan were drafted, Prime Minister Laurier and his cabinet decided that section 93 should apply to these provinces, " subject only to such modifications as the circumstances of the new provinces warrant" (*Debate of the House of Commons*, 1905, Vol. LXX, Col. 2506). The school clause, quoted below, was the result of this decision.

> The provisions of section 93 of the British North America Act, 1867, shall apply to the said province as if, at the date upon which this Act comes into force, the territory comprised therein were already a province, the expression "the union" in the said section being taken to mean the said date.
>
> Subject to the provisions of the said section 93, and in continuance of the principles heretofore sanctioned under the Northwest Territories Act, it is enacted that the legislature of the said province shall pass all necessary laws in respect of education, and that it shall therein always be provided (a) that a majority of the ratepayers of any district or portion of the said province or of any less portion or subdivision thereof, by whatever name it is known may establish such schools therein as they think fit, and make the necessary assessment and collection of rates therefor, and (b) that the minority of the rate-payers therein whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, may establish separate schools therein, and make the necessary assessment and collection of rates therefor, and (c) that in such case the rate-payers establishing such Protestant or Roman Catholic separate schools shall be liable only to assessment of such rates as they impose upon themselves with respect thereto.
>
> In the appropriation of public moneys by the legislature in aid of education, and in the distribution of any moneys paid to the government of the said province arising from the school fund established by the Dominion Lands Act, there shall be no discrimination between the public schools and the separate schools, and such moneys shall be applied to the support of public and separate schools in equitable shares or proportion.
>
> (Sparby, 1958, pp. 107-108)

The rationale behind the government's decision to apply section 93 to the new provinces was "that since religious minorities in the Territories already enjoyed the privilege of establishing separate schools, it was in keeping with the intention of section 93 that these privileges be preserved" (Sparby, 1958, p. 109). Thus the first draft of the legislation that created the new provinces was designed to protect separate schools from secular pressures by provincial departments of education.

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*The full text of this section is given in Appendix C (Kach, 1977).

The intended plan almost defeated Laurier's government. Storms of protest and division in the cabinet followed the first reading of the Bill. Expressed opposition was based on the fear that the school clause, with its reference to section eleven of the North West Territories Act of 1875, might lead to a re–establishment of clerical schools.

> The second paragraph of the clause contained the words 'in continuance of the principles hereto sanctioned under the North West Territories Act,' and was it not possible that these 'principles' might be defined in terms of the sectarian system of 1884, which had been sanctioned under the North West Territories Act.
>
> (Sparby, 1958, pp. 114–115)

Recognizing the wisdom of conciliating the dissentient members of the party, particularly in view of the broader controversy that was sweeping the country, the cabinet amended the clause to read as follows:

> Section 93 of the British North America Act, 1867, shall apply to the said province, with the substitution for paragraph (1) of the said section 93, of the following paragraph:
>
> "(1) Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to separate schools which any class or persons have at the date of the passing of this Act, under the terms of chapters 29 and 30 of the Ordinances of the Northwest Territories, passed in the year 1901, or with respect to religious instruction in any public or separate school as provided for in the said ordinances."
>
> In the appropriation by the Legislature or distribution by the Government of the province of any moneys for the support of schools organized and carried on in accordance with the said chapter 29 or any Act passed in amendment thereof, or in substitution therefor, there shall be no discrimination against schools of any class described in the said chapter 29.
>
> Where the expression of "by law" is employed in paragraph 3 of the said section 93, it shall be held to mean the law as set out in the said chapters 29 and 30, and where the expression "at the Union" is employed, in the said paragraph 3, it shall be held to mean the date at which this Act comes into force.
>
> (*Statutes of Canada*, Ch. 73, Sec. 17, 1905)

The amended clause not only confirmed the changes which had been made by the Territorial Government since 1875, it also confirmed separate school privileges which had been enjoyed by religious minorities in the Territories. The latter was achieved by placing the right to interfere with these privileges beyond the jurisdiction of the new provinces.

The attainment of provincial status had at least one other immediate consequence for Alberta's educational system. Soon after the Autonomy Bill was passed, the Alberta Government set up a provincial Department of Education to replace the Territorial Department. Efficient departmental leadership was particularly important at this time—a time when many new settlements were being organized into school districts.

Appointments to the new Department were made shortly after September 1. A Minister of Education, a Deputy Minister, and three Inspectors of Schools were named. Three of these had worked for the Territorial Department, and their experience there was helpful in the early days of the Provincial Department. Deputy Minister McKenzie, who reported on the work of the Alberta Department of Education after one year of operation, made the following comment:

> For some time after the Alberta Act came into effect considerable attention was necessarily devoted to the organization of the Department; but by adopting in the main many of the regulations and administrative precedents established by the Territorial Department of Education, the new Department was able to avoid any serious interruption in its work in the transition from territorial to provincial institution.
>
> (*Annual Report of the Alberta Department of Education*, 1906, p. 11)

From the report, it appears that the continuity of educational developments in Alberta were not interrupted by the establishment of the province.

Regarding curriculum, the Department announced that it would continue to exercise central control—a policy which had been in effect during the Territorial period. In fact, the newly created Department simply adopted the former regulations of the Territorial Department. The core of these are cited below.

> The courses of studies prescribed by the Department of Education shall form the basis of the teacher's work. It represents the minimum requirement for each standard and should be followed as a guide in classifying pupils. It may be modified to meet the needs of special schools but not without the written consent of an inspector who shall forthwith report the facts to the Department.
>
> (*Annual Report of the Alberta Department of Education*, 1906, pp. 71-72)

Supervisory and administrative tasks and other responsibilities increased so rapidly that in 1911 a separate portfolio of education was established. From this time on, the Minister devoted himself full time to representing his Department on the floor of the House, to procuring necessary funds, and to supervising the work of his officials.

Along with these political developments, social and economic factors influenced Alberta's educational system. Improved transportation encouraged immigration and promoted economic growth. These in turn facilitated the establishment of more school districts. On September 1, 1905, when the Autonomy Bill was passed, there were 561 school districts in Alberta. That number increased to 602 during the following year. Table 8 gives an idea of the development from that year to the time of the first curriculum revision.

Table 8
Summary of School Statistics 1906 and 1912 *

	1906	*1912*
No. of school districts	746	3,027
No. of pupils enrolled in rural schools	14,575	36,399
No. of pupils enrolled in urban schools	14,208	34,645
Total no. of pupils enrolled	28,783	71,044
No. of teachers employed	924	3,054
Grants paid to school districts	$170,315	$430,932
Debentures issued	$347,175	$2,808,355

The enrollment figures are indicative of the rural/urban population distribution. To illustrate—of the province's 1912 population of 374,295 citizens, sixty-four percent were farmers, while the rest had come to work in the growing cities and towns. This fact played a part in shaping Alberta's educational system. Federal and provincial governments, for instance, worked hard to establish experimental stations and to support adult and school fairs. All of these aimed to upgrade the farming practices of the era.

Progress, however, was accompanied by problems. One of these—which had its origins in the Territorial period—was the assimilation of the foreign population. Resolution of the issue was impeded by the superiority-complex of the Anglo-Saxon majority and 'en bloc' settlement. For example:

> The settlement of destitute 'Galicians' was opposed by all Alberta newspapers, and by various church and citizens' groups. Native Canadians worried that their illiteracy and poverty would drag down the cultural level of the whole area and undermine 'Anglo-Saxon' institutions. By native standards, these peasants from south-east Europe were educationally deficient, socially backward, and strange in appearance. But worse was the added problem of the 'Galicians' settling in compact communities, since it was feared this would prevent assimilation.
>
> (Palmer, 1972, p. 73)

The government of the province, realizing that education is the most effective agency in the accomplishment of assimilation, took upon itself the responsibility for this work and plans for carrying it out were made and put into operation. In the report of 1906 the deputy-minister wrote:

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* (Shortt & Doughty, 1914, p. 486)

> One of the most satisfactory and hopeful features of the past year is the progress made and interest maintained in the organization and maintenance of schools among the foreign elements, especially in the Ruthenian colony east and north-east of Edmonton. Mr. Robert Fletcher with headquarters at Wostok devotes his whole time to the work, giving every possible assistance to the non-English settlers in the establishment of school districts, the erection of schools, the employment of teachers, as well as routine work connected with the levying of taxes.
>
> (Shortt & Doughty, 1914, p. 487)

From Fletcher's report in 1911 we get an idea of the success which attended his work.

> The organization of school districts in the large Ruthenian colony north and east of Edmonton has been practically completed during the year. There are a few scattered settlements, more backward from a material point of view than the others, yet needing to be organized. As the settlers see more clearly the advantages of the school they become more discriminating regarding the limits of school districts. Whereas at first they wanted large districts in order to keep down the taxes, now they favour moderate-sized districts, so that none of the children will have too great a distance to travel to school.
>
> The school buildings are frame structures. They are roomy and well-lighted. One brick school has been erected. The majority of the districts have erected dwelling-houses for the teachers. These teachers' houses are frame structures and are furnished with a cook-stove, table and bed, also cooking utensils and dishes. A number of districts have also built stables for the convenience of those children who drive to school.
>
> The Ruthenians have been fairly generous in furnishing and equipping their schools. The nucleus of a good library is being established in a number of them. A few of the schools have supplied supplementary readers.
>
> I notice a decided change in the people in their ability for self-government. At first the ratepayers were loathe to delegate the government of the district to a board of trustees. Although they conformed with the Schools Ordinance by electing a board of trustees, a majority of the ratepayers attended each trustees' meeting and apparently had as much influence in the administration of the affairs of the district as the trustees had. If anything out of the ordinary occurred they would probably be seized with a panic and the affairs of the district would remain at a standstill until the matter was settled. Now the trustees are given almost a free hand to administer the affairs of the district. If their administration is not satisfactory the ratepayers usually exercise self-control enough to wait until the annual meeting takes place, and then they elect a trustee who will carry out their wishes better.
>
> (Shortt & Doughty, 1914, pp. 489–490)

Fletcher's success was typical of similar accomplishments throughout the province.

Another problem that came to the fore in 1905 was the separate school issue. Though amendments to the relevant clauses in the initial draft of the Autonomy Bill smoothed over an eruptive situation, debate with respect to separate school rights in specific areas still continues.

Curriculum

Dr. Newland, writing about curriculum developments in Alberta noted:

> The first school program used in Alberta was [a modified version of the 1892 Course of studies] drawn up by Dr. D. J. Goggin, then Principal of the Regina Normal School, and a member of the Council of Public Instruction for the Northwest Territories. This programme covered the full range of our present grades from I to XII, but was based on a system of eight 'standards.' Standards I to V covered the range from Grades I to VIII, and Standards VI, VII, VIII corresponded to our present Grades X, XI, and XII. . . . Although the Territorial regime passed away in 1905, Dr. Goggin's school programme, remained in the new Province of Alberta until 1912.
>
> (*Annual Report of the Department of Education*, 1937, p. 15)

Regarding curriculum, the continuity of educational developments was not disrupted by the establishment of the province. As did political, economic, and social developments, curriculum in Alberta evolved with changing conditions—albeit at a more moderate pace. And since the economic and sociocultural scene did not change too dramatically with the turn of the century, no changes were introduced in the 1905 course of studies. Further, the concerns of social, political, educational, and religious leaders were much the same as those expressed by key individuals of the Territorial period. This too tended to support the adoption of the Territorial program—a program that was purportedly designed to meet the challenges and needs of a frontier society.

Other factors also impeded immediate provincial involvement in curriculum revision. With homesteaders flocking in and towns and cities growing at a rapid rate, Alberta's newly organized government faced too many practical problems to be concerned with a program of studies that, at least temporarily, seemed satisfactory.

> Not only did it have to provide all the framework of legislation to which new towns, villages and rural municipalities could cling, but with sixty-eight percent of the province's population being newly arrived farmers . . . the government's concern had to be directed towards promoting their interests and meeting their demands. Roads, bridges, and ferries were high on the bill of fare and an organization had to be set up to meet those facilities over the length and breadth of the large and ever-expanding settled areas of the province. Schools had to be brought into being, long distance telephone lines had to be built, while at the same time every settled township clamored for a railway line. Public works of all sorts had to be provided on what at that time was correctly regarded as being a stupendous scale.
>
> (MacGregor, 1972, p. 209)

It is no wonder that the newly elected legislature had little time to reexamine the course outline. But before the first decade ended, dissatisfaction with the existing program was expressed. Within a few years, the first major curriculum revision was introduced. This revision will be discussed in the next section.

The Revision of 1912

The Revision of 1912 was prepared by a committee consisting of representatives of public and high school teachers, inspectors and superintendents of schools, and professors from the University of Alberta. After two years of deliberation, the committee submitted its report to the Department of Education. Adopted by the Department, the report provided for a revision and expansion of the program then in use.

Although the new Program of Studies did not come into general use until the latter half of the 1912 school year, some of the recommended changes were implemented immediately. For example, in 1910 the method of categorizing pupils in the schools was changed from eight 'standards' to twelve 'grades.' For the pupil of average ability, each grade represented a year of work in the prescribed subjects. Table 9 shows the subjects of the 1912 revision and grade placement of each for public school students:

From the foregoing it is apparent that the most obvious change resulting from the 1912 revision was one of organization. In the area of content, however, continuity, rather than radical change, characterized the new program. Many features of the 'revitalized' course of studies were, in fact, outgrowths of the basic curriculum of 1895. One example will be discussed to demonstrate this point.

Canadian and British History were taught in 1895 in Standards II–V. The aims stated were instruction in duty, guidance in action, and inspiration for effort. In 1906, Canadian History appeared in the program under the title of Biography while in Standards II, IV, and V the heading British History replaced English History. In the 1912 Revision, History appeared as History and Civics. History was conceived as a study of the institutional life of a people—as the progress of the entire social organization (*Course of Studies*, 1912, p. 38). In the lower grades the biographical dimension was stressed whereas the study of time relations, motives, and cause and effect were emphasized in the higher levels. Civics—an integral part of the History Program—dealt

Table 9
Course of Studies—Public Schools
Grades I to VIII *

Subjects	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
Arithmetic	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Reading and Literature	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Writing	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Spelling			X	X	X	X	X	X
Grammar				X	X	X	X	X
History and Civics					X	X	X	X
Composition	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Nature Study	X	X	X	X	X	X	Agric.	Agric.
Geography					X	X	X	X
Drawing	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Geometry								X
Manual Training and Household Science	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Physical Culture	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Hygiene	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Music	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

with the duties of citizenship and gave training to prepare the child for public and corporate duties. The Civics course was especially prepared for non-English speaking pupils. The latter objective, in particular, illustrates a generic similarity between the 1895 and 1912 History Programs.

In some subjects, however, the modifications introduced in 1912 were much more pronounced. Art is a case in point. The 1898 Art program consisted of the study of pictures and drawing—with prominence given to objective and industrial drawing. As with music, this subject was thought to have a refining influence. But despite the significance attributed to this subject in the Course of Studies, the Department of Education Report of 1906 pointed out that drawing received very little attention in the schools. One factor contributing to this lack of progress was that the teaching of such, as with music, was dependent upon the taste and ability of the instructor.

In the years that followed more attention was given to drawing. Yet as late as 1910 instruction was not systematic. To resolve this problem, representatives from Alberta held a conference on April 12, 1912 in Regina to consider the question of a standardized art program. The outcome of these discussions was the incorporation of the concept of

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* (*Annual Report of the Department of Education*, 1912, p. 81)

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teaching by organized progression in the 1912 Revision. Hence, in the new program, the course in drawing was structured around four basic topics—representation, decoration, color, and construction. In addition, reference books were authorized. These were the *Prong Series of Textbooks in Art Education, Aldene* (Newson & Sons, N.Y.), *Step by Step* (Glen & Co., N.Y.), and the *Sunbonnet Babies* (Rand, McNally & Co., Chicago).

In contrast to the development that occurred in the art program, the geography course was not substantially changed. Concerning the objectives of this subject, the view expressed by the Department of Education in 1912 paralleled the position articulated by the Council of Public Instruction in 1900. Both agencies affirmed that the geography course was designed to acquaint the pupil with a knowledge of the essential features of the earth and the relations thereto of man's mode of living.

Minor modifications, however, were introduced. For instance, by 1912 geography was not viewed as a subject important in promoting national sentiment. Two social developments were, to a large extent, responsible for this evolution. First, Sifton's promotional policy resulted in increased immigration from the British Isles and the United States.

> The American [and British] influx had . . . [an] important effect in dispelling the apprehension that the West, by reason of heavy immigration from continental countries, might become a polyglot country in which English would not hold the dominant position. The American and British immigration—all English-speaking . . . and all habituated to self-goverment—outnumbered the European immigration four to one.
>
> (Shortt & Doughty, 1914, p. 310)

Hence, apprehension about polyglot dominance in the West was somewhat allayed by the time the new program was adopted. Second, political and educational leaders expressed less concern about nationalism because continental ethnic groups had made considerable advances in the field of education.

But more than any other factor, the introduction of a new subject was responsible for the exclusion of nationalistic content from geography courses. With the 1912 Revision, Civics, as a discrete subject, was included in the program of studies. Now there was a course that was specifically designed to impart attitudes of patriotism, loyalty, and the duties of citizenship. Geography, as taught in the schools, could now be developed along more scientific lines.

Another feature of the 1912 Geography Course is that it reflects the committee's attempt to prepare an outline that would assist teachers in promoting student understanding of the importance of geography as a determinant of human activity. The relationship between the stated scope and the substantive content that is evident in the Grade VI geography course can, to a large extent, be attributed to the fact that the Revision of 1912 was prepared by the committee method. This method made use of the experience, analytical abilities, and organizing powers among the members of the committee. Most prominent among the members of the committee was Marshall H. Tory, President of the University of Alberta from 1908 to 1928. The fact that he presided over the committee was of signal importance since Tory was one of the few trained curriculum workers available in the province.

This training and years of teaching experience shaped Dr. Tory's educational philosophy which, in turn, was reflected in the 1912 program of studies. For instance, his endorsement of the view that claimed close correlation between certain subjects was given concrete expression in the geography and nature study course.

> Geography and Nature Study—a difference is sometimes made between geography and nature study on the basis of one being a formal body of organized knowledge of general character on the one hand and of the other being concerned with incidental, local and perhaps minute nature on the other hand, or of one being essentially a study and the other a method. As the materials of both subjects for the earlier years of school, however, are common and cannot with advantage be separated, and as the close observation method is appropriate to both, the subjects are combined during the first half of the public school period.
>
> (*Annual Report of the Department of Education*, 1912, pp. 110–111)

Nor did his philosophy and concern about effective pedagogy blind Tory to the practical realities of the frontier. The Grade VI Nature Study outline illustrates his (and the committee's) awareness of the interests and needs of a pioneering society.

NATURE STUDY

> Animals–Examination and making of lists of known animals, birds and insects related to the area selected for close physiographic study in Grade V. Conservation: combatting of destructive forms in animals—coyote, wolf, bear, gopher, mouse, cowbird, cutworm, wireworm, potatoe bug, beetle, plant louse, etc.
>
> (*Annual Report of the Department of Education*, Appendix B, 1912, p. 113)

As seen in the foregoing extract, Tory and the committee recognized that the attitudes, opinions, and needs of farm people are conditioning forces in school programs in agricultural areas such as Alberta. In fact, the rural areas were a special challenge to the committee and its Chairman. At a rural teachers' convention Tory stated:

> I believe the problem of rural life is the greatest problem we are facing today. . . . If we create a keenness for intellectual effort through the use of our country schools we will do more to solve our rural problem than can be done by other means. That necessitates the employment in our schools of highly trained and well-equipped teachers.
>
> (Tory, Address #11)

But besides highly trained and well-equipped teachers, a suitable course of studies was required. An integral part of this was the course in Agriculture which, as was mentioned earlier, was an extension of the Grade I to VI Nature Study Program. The continuity between the two can be seen by examining the Grade VI Nature Study outline (presented earlier) and a section of the outline for the Grade VII Agriculture Course shown below.*

AGRICULTURE

> The Soil—The home of the plant. Subsoil. Origin of soil. Classification of soils. Properties of soils. Color, weight, texture, moisture-holding capacity, adhesiveness, temperature. Studies to be concrete by use of samples, school garden and field work.
>
> (*Annual Report of the Department of Education*, 1912, p. 114)

One other subject from the field of science was retained in the 1912 revision. This was Hygiene. With respect to this course, two changes were introduced. First, the 1895 teachers' references *Ontario Manual of Hygiene* and *Ontario Public School Physiology and Temperance* were replaced by *Ontario Public School Hygiene* (Knight, Copp, Clark, & Co.), *Gulick's Health Series* (Ginn & Co.), and *How To Be Healthy* (Educational Book Co., Halpenny & Ireland). Second, the scope of the Grade VI course was presented in greater detail. In part, greater detail was provided for the purpose of giving more guidance to teachers whose training, in many cases, was inadequate.

Analysis of the 1912 Revision

Though changes in the school program introduced by the 1912 revision were not dramatic, they were, to a degree, significant. Of key importance was the Government's recognition of the need to change a curriculum which, with minor modifications, had been adopted in 1895. While it is true that continuity, rather than radical transformation, characterized the new course of studies, important changes did take place. A brief review of some of the innovations in the science-related disciplines follow:

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*The writer was unable to locate the textbooks used for these courses.

1. Nationalistic and imperialistic elements were, for the most part, eliminated from the geography course.
2. The Nature Study course placed more emphasis on topics closely related to the province's principal economic industry—agriculture.
3. The content of the Hygiene Course was clearly elaborated and included more topics that were relevant to many of the new immigrants.

That no radical change occurred comes as no surprise. Though economic, political, and social growth had occurred, these developments were largely of a quantitative rather than a qualitative nature. By 1912 Alberta was still basically a frontier society, so the concerns that required and received most attention were of a practical nature—as was the case in the Territorial period.* And these concerns were reflected in the curriculum. Even at the higher levels of research, interest focused on the pragmatic--for example, Dr. Saunders' work at the Dominion Experimental Farm at Ottawa. In the years that followed, however, things were to change drastically—but that time was yet to come.

Political, Economic, and Sociocultural Factors—Their Implications for the Establishment of Separate Schools

For decades the political, economic, and sociocultural conditions in the Northwest were not conducive to the establishment of educational institutions. As noted previously, the first to attend to education in this vast region were the missionaries. Prominent among these were the Roman Catholic missionaries and sisters. Their efforts, as indicated by Table 10, were quite productive.

On June 23, 1870, Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories became part of the Dominion of Canada. This development ensured state involvement in educational matters. In fact, it was only five years later that the Territorial administrators passed enabling legislation (the Northwest Territories Act) for the establishment of public and separate schools. And as indicated in Chapter II, nine years later the Northwest Council took advantage of the enabling legislation to pass an ordinance setting up public and separate school systems. From the time the Ordinance was passed (1884) until 1905, both systems developed

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* Refer to Part A of Chapter III

Table 10
Mission Schools

Date	*Location*	*Operated by*
1859	Lac Ste. Anne	Sisters of Charity
1861	Fort Edmonton	Brother Scollen
1862	Lac La Biche	Grey Sisters
1862	St. Albert	Sisters of Charity
1883	Fort McLeod	Father L. Van Tighem
1886	Onion Lake area	Sisters of Assumption of Nicolet
1886	Mission of St. Alexander (22 mi. from St. Albert)	Paul Durochen
1888	Groat Estate	Faithful Companions of Jesus
1888	Stoney Plain Mission of St. John the Evangelist	Thomas Ridsdale (Schoolmaster)
1889	Hobbema	Sisters of the Assumption of Nicolet
1897	St. Paul des Métis	Sisters of Assumption
1898	Transfer from Lac La Biche to Saddle Lake	Indian Boarding School (Transfer by Government)
1903	Morinville	Daughters of Jesus
1904	Lac La Biche	Daughters of Jesus
?	Krakow	Auxiliaries of the Apostolate

markedly. Tables 11 and 12 reflect the growth of the Roman Catholic separate and Roman Catholic public schools for this period.

Table 11
Roman Catholic Separate Schools to 1905

No.	*Name*	*Date Established*	*Source*
1	Lacombe	18 Dec. 1885	Ordinances of the NWT 5 Nov. to 18 Dec. 1885, p. 106
7	St. Joachim	26 Oct. 1888	NWT Gazette, 27 Oct. 1888, p. 137
8	Holy Cross	18 Jan. 1889	NWT Gazette, 31 Jan. 1889, p. 9
9	Lethbridge	18 Jan. 1889	NWT Gazette, 31 Jan. 1889, pp. 6-7
12	St. Anthony	17 Dec. 1894	NWT Gazette, 1 Jan. 1895, pp. 5-6
14	Gleichen	24 Mar. 1900	NWT Gazette, 31 Mar. 1900, p. 5
15	Sacred Heart	7 Oct. 1901	NWT Gazette, 31 Oct. 1901, pp. 2-3

Such growth continued after the passage of the autonomy bills and the creation of two new provinces, Alberta and Saskatchewan, in 1905. As noted earlier, the original draft of the bills included a clause which, if acted on, would have re–established the dual systems that had existed prior to the Ordinance of 1892. Laurier had included the clause because he had hoped it would restore his popularity among the Roman Catholics who had become disenchanted with him during the Manitoba School

Table 12

Roman Catholic Public School Districts 1885-1905

No.	*Name*	*Date Established*	*Source*
2	Saskatchewan	2 Mar. 1885	NWT Gazette, 19 Mar. 1885, p. 32
3	St. Albert	5 May 1885	NWT Gazette, 30 May 1885, pp. 80-3
4	St. Leon	5 May 1885	NWT Gazette, 30 May 1885, p. 83
5	Cunningham	5 May 1885	NWT Gazette, 30 May 1885, pp. 85-7
6	Bellerose	5 May 1885	NWT Gazette, 30 May 1885, pp. 88-9
7	St. Francis Xavier	5 May 1885	NWT Gazette, 30 May 1885, p. 90
10	Lourdes	18 Dec. 1885	Ordinances of the NWT Session, 5 Nov. to 18 Dec. 1885
18	St. Agnes	22 Mar. 1888	NWT Gazette, 26 May 1888, p. 38
26	St. Thomas Duhamel	13 July 1889	NWT Gazette, 1 August 1889, pp. 107-8
29	Lac Ste. Anne	7 Feb. 1890	NWT Gazette, 1 Mar. 1890, p. 33
34	Creuzot	11 Mar. 1891	NWT Gazette, 1 April 1891, pp. 64-5
35	Thibault	17 June 1892	NWT Gazette, 2 July 1892, p. 103
41	Glengarry	4 Mar. 1895	NWT Gazette, 1 April 1895, pp. 71-2
44	Vegreville	4 Mar. 1895	NWT Gazette, 1 April 1895, p. 73
45	Rose Ridge	7 April 1896	NWT Gazette, 15 April 1896, p. 42
47	Boulais	30 June 1897	NWT Gazette, 2 July 1897, p. 10
51	Chorest	19 July 1901	NWT Gazette, 31 July 1901, p. 3

Crisis. The Minister resigned over the issue and the Cabinet was split, so Laurier revised the Bill to give the new provinces unified educational systems with separate schools on the Ontario model. Though they were not granted the same degree of autonomy they would have had if the Quebec model had not been revoked, separate schools continued to thrive and, slowly but steadily, increased in number. Their growth, as well as that of the public schools, is documented in Table 13.

Table 13

Schools Districts *

In existence December 31, 1906		*In existence December 31, 1912*	
Separate	7	Separate	14
Public	735	Public	2,010
*Unorganized	4	*Unorganized	5
Total	746	Total	2,027

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* *(Eighth Annual Report, Department of Education,* 1913, p. 101)

The principal factors contributing to the growth of separate schools were, as previously indicated, the growing population and legislation which assured minorities the right to establish such schools. Having no significant influence on any facet of Roman Catholic schools was the 1912 Curriculum Revision. Basically focusing on minor administrative changes, the ideology and praxis of the separate schools were unaffected by the revision.

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CHAPTER V

ALBERTA—1912 to 1936

Political Developments

In Chapter IV, reference was made to the railroad policy that was adopted by Alberta's first legislature. Ironically, this policy—which catered to the general outcry for railways in Alberta—soon became the focus of such acrimonious political and social conflict that it dominated not only the last session of the first legislature, but also the general election that followed and the lengthy session that opened early in 1910. It introduced a political crisis. For this reason, the railway question warrants elaboration.

The demand for railways in Alberta came from men of every political conviction. Almost unanimously, they believed that "The country . . . [needed] more railways whether they look like lines of blood on the tentacles of a devil fish" (*Edmonton Bulletin*, February 1, 1907, p. 4). Even extension of the lines of the suspect Canadian Pacific would have been welcomed "and that corporation was bitterly condemned for failure to use its great resources to cover the West with a network of lines" (Thomas, 1959, p. 59).

The attitude which favored the expansion of railroad building was consistent with that which welcomed every addition to the province's population and "rejoiced with every victory of the plough" (Thomas, 1959, p. 65). Each year brought new settlements, some along established lines, some far from existing lines but full of hope. In the south, settlers were inspired by the first prize the district's grain had won at the Dominion Fair in Calgary in 1908 (*Edmonton Bulletin*, August 17, 1908, p. 1). From points as far north as Fort Vermilion, came reports of excellent possibilities for settlement (*Edmonton Bulletin*, January 5, 1904, p. 2). The Canadian Pacific sold 10,240 acres near Strathmore, where the company was carrying out experiments in irrigation, to

Japanese interests. Another parcel of irrigated land, initially owned by the Canadian Pacific, was taken up by Dutch settlers. "They planned to specialize in the cultivation of sugar beets and it was expected that ultimately between 800 and 1000 would join them" (*Edmonton Bulletin*, November 11, 1907, p. 3). To the northeast of Edmonton, settlers from central Europe were converting bush country into farm lands.

To all it seemed that the railway situation demanded action or at least a statement of policy. Yet at the opening session of 1909, details about the Government's intentions were still unknown. Finally, towards the close of the short session, the Premier at last told the House that since railway facilities had failed to keep up with the growth in population, and in as much as Alberta's progress depended on railways, the provincial government had determined to take the matter in hand (*Edmonton Bulletin*, February 25, 1909, p. 4).

> The province would guarantee Grand Trunk Pacific and Canadian Northern bonds to the extent of $13,000 a mile, a guarantee which could, with the authorization of the legislature, be increased to $15,000 a mile. Interest was to be at 4 per cent, the term 30 years, and the province was secured by a first mortgage on rolling stock and other assets.
>
> The guarantees for the Alberta and Great Waterways were more generous: $20,000 a mile for 350 miles and $400,000 for its terminal at Edmonton. Interest was to be at 5% for a term of 50 years.
>
> The bonds were to be sold, and the proceeds placed in a bank and paid to the company as it built the line, with ten miles to be completed before any payment was made.
>
> (Thomas, 1959, p. 62)

A short time after this announcement was made, the House was dissolved. The dissolution of the legislature was followed by an election on March 22.

During the campaign the Conservatives detailed the various planks of their highly progressive platform. The Liberals, with a clear understanding of provincial politics, concentrated their campaign on the alleged connection between the Conservative party and the Canadian Pacific. "They [the Conservative leaders] have degraded the party organization, or allowed it to be degraded, into the position of butler-in-ordinary to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company" (Thomas, 1959, p. 68). The hostility of the great company to the Rutherford government was explained as the result of the Government's resolve to collect taxes on Canadian Pacific Railway property, its recent Workmen's Compensation Act, its eight-hour law in the coal mines, its enforcement of the Sabbath Observance Act, and its most recently announced railway policy.

An overwhelming victory at the polls verified the Liberals' confidence in the support accorded them by the province. Only two Conservatives and one Socialist were returned. At Okotoks, the Conservative, J. T. Moore, was defeated by an Independent Conservative. In the other 37 ridings, the Liberals were victorious.

The new legislature did not meet until February of 1910. When it did reconvene, all was calm on the surface. But before it ended, the 1910 session witnessed a perturbation and upheaval of such magnitude that a political crisis followed. The subject of dissension was the guaranteeing of bonds of the Alberta and Great Waterways Railway Company. In the ensuing transactions the Morgans realized a sizeable profit through the resale of shares. Opposition members were quick to accuse certain members of the Government of secretly participating in this profit.

A few days after the legislature opened on February 10, 1910, hints of trouble were evident. Ministers of a number of portfolios resigned, were placated, and withdrew their resignations. Premier Rutherford was accused of double–dealing and graft. To keep the issue at the center of attention, R. B. Bennett, leader of the opposition, spoke for five consecutive hours. These events gave insurgent party members and the Opposition the opportunity they had been seeking, and they promptly moved a non–confidence motion which was defeated by the narrow margin of 20 to 17.

As a result of this upheaval, cabinet ministers once again resigned, were reappointed, or refused to be reappointed. Such instability made it clear that the Government could not carry on the business of the House efficiently until the rumors that filled the country were dispelled. So on March 14, Premier Rutherford gave notice of a resolution to appoint a royal commission to investigate:

> The relations of the members of the Government, members of the Legislature and officials of the Government in connection with the incorporation and organization of the Alberta and Great Waterways Railway Company, the guaranteeing of the bonds of the Railway, and the contract for building the railway.
>
> (Blue, 1924, p. 127)

Two months after he appointed the commission, Rutherford resigned. This was not unexpected since the Liberal party had, for some time, recognized that if it was to retain its control of provincial affairs, the government would have to be reorganized under a new premier. So when the House reassembled on May 17, Lieutenant Governor Bulyea entered the chamber and announced that he had accepted Rutherford's resignation and, further, that he had called on A. L. Sifton, Chief Justice of Alberta, to form a government. Sifton accepted the responsibility and on May 3 announced his cabinet.

From that date to the time the legislature reconvened in November, the findings of the royal commission and the railway policy of the Sifton government remained a mystery. But a few days before the legislature met, the reports were submitted. The majority report censured the government but completely exonerated Rutherford, whereas the minority report exonerated the government and criticized Mr. Cushing, Minister of Public Works. Regarding the railway policy, the Government continued guaranteeing the bonds of the railroad companies. In doing so "the legislature moved continuously towards the railroad crises which was to embarrass the Liberal regime in its closing years" (MacGregor, 1972, p. 211). Ironically, the Alberta and Great Waterways Railway Company once again captured the limelight by contributing to this crisis. In July the Company defaulted on the payment of the first installment of interest and the Government was compelled to pay the Morgans. This brought about the passage of an Act [November 24] which declared that the proceeds and interests that accrued from the sale of the bonds of the Alberta and Great Waterways Railway Company would become part of the general revenue of the province. Immediately after the Act was passed the Government presented a cheque to the Royal Bank for $6,042,830.06, being the amount standing to the credit of the Province. The bank refused to pay the cheque and the Government sued the bank. For over two years the courts grappled with this issue. In the end the Privy Council declared the act *ultra vires*. This decision left the Government with a large debt and no contractor to proceed with the construction of the Alberta and Great Waterways Railway Company. Eventually, the Government was compelled to take over this task "under circumstances that rendered the costs much higher than was originally planned" (Blue, 1924, p. 129).

Although so much of the second legislature's time was spent on railway policies, the Liberals, particularly in 1913, did put through a great deal of legislation. "Of the eighty-eight acts passed, twenty-one were public and general acts, sixty-seven private or local" (Thomas, 1959, p. 134). Much of this legislation was related to the anticipated election. And since all the members were aware of the political expediency of pleasing the agricultural population (which constituted the majority in most of the ridings) several of the public acts were specifically designed to appeal to the agricultural vote. These included:

1. An Act that established agricultural schools.
2. Legislation that made financial assistance available to school districts that participated in the establishment of consolidated units.
3. An Act intended to protect farmers from unreasonable sales contracts.

> 4. An Act—the most important from the farmers' point of view—that incorporated the Alberta Farmers' Cooperative Elevator Company, Limited.
>
> (Thomas, 1959, p. 135)

The legislation mentioned above undoubtedly influenced the attitude of the United Farmers of Alberta and, although the association was officially neutral, it did not prevent its former president, James Bower, from recommending the Liberal party (*Edmonton Bulletin*, April 10, 1913). This attitude, together with the Liberals' skillful 'redistribution' of seats, and the Conservative Party's negative campaign, seem to have been the principal factors that brought the Liberals another election victory—thirty-seven seats to the Conservatives' seventeen. Though the opposition was stronger, it did not pose any threat to the incumbents.

The beginning of 1914 marked the advent of a period in Alberta politics that was more stable than the preceding four years. To a degree, this stability can be attributed to the fact that in 1914 party politics were eclipsed by the outbreak of World War I. For example, one of the first political effects of the war was to produce a party truce. Mitchener, leader of the Conservatives, promised that the Opposition would,

> Join with the government to expedite the work of the session and cooperate with the government in the passage of needful measures, subject . . . to the government's abstention from contentious legislation involving matters which we could not conscientiously support.
>
> (*Edmonton Journal*, October 7, 1914, p. 3)

Until 1916 both parties observed this truce in spite of the social and economic dislocations of the war years.

At the 1916 session, Mitchener, and a number of able lieutenants, led a vigorous opposition against the Government. Much of the criticism was levelled at provincial enforcement problems associated with the 1916 Prohibition Act—an act put into effect via the channels of direct legislation (referendum). But the Opposition was without avail and the Liberals retained control over the provincial government.

Another important milestone in Alberta's political history was the passage of the Women's Suffrage Act (April 19, 1916). With the Prohibition Act, this,

> In a happy amalgam with more earthy projects for building railways and supplying registered breeding stock, provide[d] the legislative substance of the war years, and kept the farm population in a more or less equable frame of mind towards a Liberal party.
>
> (Thomas, 1959, p. 157)

Such legislation, astute leadership, and good party organization assured solidarity in the Liberal ranks.

With these factors in their favor, the Liberals called an election for 1917. It is possible that this decision was influenced by the necessities of federal politics. Union government and conscription were in the air and it would be expected that a man such as Sifton realized that these issues would put a strain on the Liberal party and probably reopen the rift of 1910. "Thus a desire to get the Alberta election safely over before the storm broke in federal politics may well have determined Sifton's decision" (Thomas, 1959, p. 171).

In the meantime, on practically every socioeconomic measure, post-war conditions in Alberta seemed to indicate continued prosperity and stability. The situation on the political scene was very different. The incumbent Liberals (a divided party since the union issue) had little reason for optimism. Nor could they benefit from association with the national party for, in the federal sphere, the popularity of the Liberals was at a low ebb.

Despite this handicap, Stewart carried on acceptably well as provincial premier as long as the boom lasted. Yet even in this period of economic buoyancy, the premier and his colleagues found it difficult to cope with the problems that confronted them. Three in particular proved refractory (irrigation, railways, and prohibition) and "added to the embarrassment of the provincial administration and to the impatience of the electorate" (Thomas, 1959, p. 189).

Although these problems were "refractory and embarrassing,"* they did not pose a serious threat to the government. The final blow to the Liberal administration was the recession of 1920 and the depression of 1921. In 1920, for example, the grain crop reached record levels but returns were lower, for in the fall of that year the slump in agricultural prices had begun (*Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture*, 1921, p. 11). Apart from the decreased prices, high costs of production, high freight rates, restricted credit, and a crop failure in southern Alberta brought many farmers of the province face to face with disaster (*Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture*, 1921, pp. 8-9). These trends made it clear that the post-war boom was at an end. And so, "as the life of the fourth legislature of Alberta drew to its close, the Liberal government faced a gloomy prospect" (Thomas, 1959, p. 189).

Added to the Government's woes was the fact that the party was weakened by schism and dissension. For instance, the premier's hold on his followers was not secure following the expulsion of C. W. Cross, the Attorney General, from the cabinet in August, 1918. Furthermore, Laurier

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*For additional information about these problems see Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, pp. 189–193.

Liberals considered Stewart's political views as 'lukewarm' while the Unionists regarded him as a fence-sitter (*Edmonton Journal*, January 18, 1919, p. 2). Consequently, neither group gave him unreserved support.

Although the Liberal party's prospects prior to the election of '21 were dismal, the threat to their incumbency did not come from their archrivals—the Conservatives. Instead, imminent danger to Liberal supremacy came from the segment of society that the members of the legislature had, for almost two decades, tried hard to serve—the farmers. This was reflected in the statement made by Premier Stewart where he expressed that it had always been his fight since he became minister "to see that the farmers were having a square deal" (Thomas, 1959, p. 195). Though the persistency of this fight may be questioned, there seems little reason to doubt that the premier had "a sympathetic ear to most of the United Farmers Association resolutions" (Cormack, n.d., p. 71). However, late in the second decade of the 1900s this 'sympathetic ear' was insufficient to stem the rising tide of agrarian demand for reforms. Disenchanted with the Liberals and suspicious of the Conservatives, the farmers, in 1919, opted for direct political action. A number of factors prompted this decision. Some of these were:

1. The non-party tradition in the West.
2. The new development in the farmers' movement—the formation of the National Progressive Party.
3. The contribution of the social gospel to the creation of an agrarian-based political party.
4. "The entrance into southern Alberta from North Dakota, some years previously, of the Non-Partisan League" (Priestley & Swindlehurst, 1967, p. 67).
5. Economic recession and subsequent depression.

The significance of these factors to agrarian involvement in and determination of Alberta's political history merits elaboration.

Regarding the first, it is essential to note that the political tradition of the Canadian west is a non-party tradition and had been so long before the United Farmers Association administration in Alberta. In the west, two characteristics combined to discourage the introduction and development of the party system. One was Alberta's homogeneous class composition; the other was its quasi-colonial status.

> The former seemed to make a party system unnecessary, the latter led to a positive aversion to party. The absence of any serious opposition of class interests within the province meant that alternate parties were not needed.

> The quasi-colonial position of the western provinces made it a primary requirement of their political systems that they should be able to stand up to the national government. . . . That they should be able to do so was all the more important as their quasi-colonial status was not only economic but also political. . . . It was therefore essential to the purposes of the provincial community that its government should be an effective offensive and defensive weapon against this imperial power.
>
> (Macpherson, 1953, p. 21)

Hence, a provincial party system in which each of the parties was but a subordinate section of a federal party had limited potential to oppose or confront the central authority. In view of all this, it is not surprising that "What the West revolted against in 1816, 1870, and 1885 as in 1921 and 1935 was being taken over or being dominated by an outside power" (Morton, 1950, Foreword, p. viii).

Concerning the second, the 1919 session of parliament made it clear that the western farmers had not forgotten the discontents expressed between 1911 and 1917. The West had put aside its views in 1917 but with no intention that they should be forgotten. In fact, the drive for the reduction of tariffs hardly missed a stride during the 1917 crisis. And in the late summer of 1918 the Canadian Council of Agriculture, whose last political action had been the publication of the Farmers' Platform in December 1916, resumed the campaign. On August 21, when the fortunes of war had turned in favor of the Allies, the Council revised the platform entitled "The New National Policy."

The revised platform was adopted immediately by four provincial associations—the United Farmers of Ontario, the Grain Growers of Manitoba, the United Farmers of Alberta and the Saskatchewan Grain Growers. In each of these associations it was decided that the locals in any federal constituency may organize to nominate a candidate who would accept the Farmers' Platform, "that is, to do his utmost to have its terms carried out or resign his seat in parliament" (Morton, 1950, p. 64). The resolution passed by the United Farmers Association was characteristic:

> Now, therefore, be it resolved: (1) We urge the Locals in the various Federal districts to take immediate steps looking to the organization of district units for the purpose of holding at least one convention each year in each of such Districts; (2) the central United Farmers Association office shall, upon request of 10 per cent of the Locals in any District render whatever assistance it can in calling and arranging for such Convention; (3) the primary purpose of such Convention shall be to discuss ways and means of taking independent political action and selecting an independent candidate; (4) each Convention shall be responsible for its actions in putting a candidate in the field, in financing and electing such a candidate, but nothing in this Resolution shall prevent any officer of the Provincial organization giving what assistance he can when called upon.
>
> (*Annual Report of the Department of Education*, 1919, pp. 52-53)

The effect of this resolution was to delegate the responsibility of political action to the locals of each federal constituency. Apparently, neither the Council nor the associations considered the organization of a third party at the beginning of 1919. Yet it is difficult to believe that the entire effort was expended simply to provide a model platform for farmers' candidates, for by the beginning of 1920 the farmers were committed to political action. The fact was manifested by the organization of a permanent agrarian group in the parliamentary session of that year. Led by Crerar, Minister of Agriculture, the group consisted of eleven mmbers. The group met in caucus prior to the February session and formally constituted themselves as the "National Progressive Party." The formation of this party reflected, in part, parallel developments in a number of farmers' organizations and, by the same token, intensified the movement for provincial political action by the farmers.

Furthermore, the history of reform movements is characterized by the intimate association of religion and reform. And in Canada this 'association' assumed concrete form in the movement known as the social gospel. From the time it emerged on the Canadian scene the objectives of the social gospel coincided with those expressed by the organized farmers. Yet neither of the groups, largely due to internal dissension within both groups, considered joining forces. Instead, by 1921, endless complexity and power conflicts in the industrial world seemed to pervert much of the social gospel program. Though disastrous to the social gospel, this development gave the agrarian–based progressive movement moral support as social gospellers "looked with increasing favour upon the rise of a progressive political party" (Allen, 1971, p. 197).

The fourth factor that pushed the united farmers into political action was the entrance into Alberta of the Non–Partisan League. Originating in North Dakota, where in 1916 it captured the state legislature, it spread through the adjacent states and into Canada. The success of the League's expansion is revealed by the fact that by 1917 its Alberta membership exceeded several thousand. In that same year it put four candidates in the field. Two were elected. During the next two years the Non–Partisans urged the organization of the province for political action in cooperation with the United Farmers Association. By the middle of the year, the two had practically united. This union virtually ensured the entry of the United Farmers Association into provincial politics.

However significant the foregoing factors were in precipitating agrarian-based political action, it is doubtful that the farmers would have moved from their apolitical position if their economic situation had remained as buoyant as it was immediately after the war. Instead, a post-war recession became evident in 1920—a recession that deepened into the depression of 1921. When added to the conditions discussed earlier, together with the western attitude toward eastern financiers, industrialists, and old-time parties, it seemed inevitable that the West would revolt again.

Interestingly, the 'revolt' was not organized at the provincial level. This possibility was precluded by the eleven resolutions having to do with political action that were passed at the 1919 convention. Although these resolutions were concerned with "the setting up of federal associations for political action" (Priestley & Swindlehurst, 1967, p. 67), the resolve to relegate all responsibility for the organization and implementation of direct political action to the locals set the pattern for subsequent political involvement at the provincial level. Consequently, the United Farmers Association entered the election campaign of 1921 without formal leadership, without any very violent attack on the Stewart government, and with only an informal platform.

As indicated earlier, this 'informal platform' had been laid by the Canadian Council in 1916 and revised in 1918. Some of the major planks of the updated edition included the following principles, proposals, and/or demands:*

1. The belief that further development of the British Empire should be sought along the lines of partnership between nations free and equal.
2. The conviction that the best interests of the Empire and Canada would be served by reciprocal tariff reductions.
3. The belief that the Protective Tariff had been a corrupting influence in the national life because the protected interests had contributed to political and campaign funds.
4. Immediate and substantial all-round reduction of the customs tariff.
5. That agricultural implements, fertilizers, coal, gasoline, and oils be placed on the free list.
6. That taxes be imposed by a direct tax on unimproved land values, by a graduated income tax, and a graduated tax on the profits of corporations.
7. That a greater degree of democracy be introduced in government.

That the above was indeed an "informal" platform is evidenced by the fact that the president of the United Farmers Association, Henry Wise Wood, had not sought to have it adopted as the official policy of the provincial farmers' association. Wood's endorsement of provincial autonomy was emphasized in one of the resolutions passed at the 1920 convention held in his home local (Carstairs). In the preamble, the resolution stated that:

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* For a complete edition of The Farmers' Platform see Morton (1950).

> The organized farmers' political movement can attain its greatest ultimate usefulness and maintain its democratic spirit only through the organized farmers of each province exercising complete autonomy in developing the principles of their political action.
>
> (*Resolutions of United Farmers Association Convention*, 1920)

Although the United Farmers Association entered the election campaign without formal leadership and with an informal platform, they had the advantage of having a superior organization, the general support of labor, and of former Conservatives who favored the avowedly non-partisan farmer candidates. Equally important to the subsequent United Farmers Association victory was the popularity of H. W. Wood's theory which set two classes of people, the competitive or plutocratic (eastern financiers, industrialists, etc.) in conflict with the cooperative or democratic (the western farmers) who would, by organizing into occupational groups, eventually put an end to the competitive order and establish a harmonious cooperative society (Macpherson, 1953, p. 30).

> By equating all virtues with the cooperatively minded and all vices with the competitive rogues . . . [the] theory provided a focus for all the yearnings and discontents of a hard-working, relatively poor population of a puritan persuasion.
>
> (MacGregor, 1972, pp. 252-253)

So persuasive was this philosophy and so quickly did the grassroots politicians respond to the opportunity that the election of June 17, 1921 was a smashing victory for the new United Farmers Association party. Thirty-nine of its candidates had been elected as compared to fourteen Liberal, four Labour, three Independent and one Conservative.

Ironically, no one was more surprised by the election results than the United Farmers Association. As in Ontario in 1919, the farmers sought "not power, but representation, and were . . . embarrassed by the quite unexpected magnitude of their victory" (Morton, 1950, p. 112). As an observer wrote after the election, "it [was] an open secret in Alberta that the Farmers did not really wish to secure enough seats to take upon themselves the responsibility of forming a government" (McKinney, 1921, p. 25).

The above, in combination with the unique United Farmers Association's social and political theory, assured that the new Government would be confronted with problems as soon as it was faced with the practical aspects of assuming and exercising power. Consequently, the victorious group found itself "without a leader except for H. W. Wood, who preferring to govern from the sidelines, had not run in the election . . . refused the job" (MacGregor, 1972, p. 253). Many would have liked to see the United Farmers Association's solicitor, J. E. Brownlee, take the task of being premier but Wood refused to endorse that choice on principle. The latter believed that the premier of the new government should be a farmer. After several alternatives were considered, Herbert Greenfield, vice-president of the United Farmers Association, became, on the nomination of H. W. Wood, Premier of Alberta.

Other major problems may be attributed in part to the United Farmers Association's theory. These may be stated as follows:

1. The maintenance of the strict delegate democracy of the annual convention.
2. The claims of the constituency organization versus the claims of the cabinet.
3. Constituency autonomy versus provincial convention control of policy.
4. Provincial convention supremacy versus cabinet supremacy.

The first problem was a developmental phenomenon in that its emergence followed a striking increase in United Farmers Association membership—from 2,000 in 1909 to nearly 38,000 in 1921. And the remaining three should have been anticipated in light of the agrarian party's political theory. The nature of the origins of these problems, however, made no difference to the way in which they were ultimately resolved; for, by 1925 the authority of the provincial convention and the cabinet were uncontestably established.

In view of the above, it is evident that little was left of the original United Farmers Association principles of government. For instance, the principle of group government (that the cabinet should be formed from all the groups in the legislature) was abandoned even before the United Farmers Association took office. The other principles—that each member should be responsible to his constituency, that elected members should be independent of cabinet control, that elected members should not be involved in operating the political machinery—were all abandoned within a year or two of United Farmers Association administration.

The abandonment of basic party principles, however, did not seem to cause undue concern among the electorate. Nor were they disconcerted by the absence of any manifestation of the "promised millennium." To a large extent, this complacency could be accounted for because of the relatively buoyant economy for:

> As ever, in spite of hailstorms and cloud bursts, the province's harvests continued to be garnered in, Alberta's bootleggers, who had never heeded competition anyway, continued their lucrative roles and Alberta Bankers continued to weigh out their pound of flesh on the old-time scales.
>
> (MacGregor, 1972, p. 254)

Despite their fair fortunes, the farmers had many issues to complain about. Of the more serious was the grain marketing system. That this had been a perennial problem is evidenced by the fact that at their 1913 convention the farmers laid the framework for the formation of the Alberta Farmers' Cooperative Elevator Company. In 1917 the United Grain Growers amalgamated with this company and from that time on operated as the United Grain Growers Ltd. That same year the Dominion government had set up a federal board to handle wheat sales and the farmers, feeling that this undercut the Winnipeg Wheat Exchange, were satisfied. When the board was disbanded in 1920, the farmers set out to establish their own marketing system. After much groundwork they were successful and on October 29, 1923, the Alberta Wheat Pool was in business. A year later a Livestock Pool, Dairy Pool, and Egg and Poultry Pool were established. Such developments were indicative of the farmers' greater involvement in cooperative marketing and reduced participation in political affairs.

The shift in activity and interest, together with general prosperity, detracted the farmers' attention from the stark reality that after four years in office the United Farmers Association government had failed in its initial plans for farmer-class government. Nor did they recognize that their MLAs had accepted many administrative policies that they had sworn to avoid. Furthermore, the members of the legislature failed to generate any effective protest when in November 1925 the cabinet changed leaders and chose their attorney-general, J. E. Brownlee as premier. "Brownlee was a real leader—but a lawyer" (MacGregor, 1972, p. 256).

Brownlee—a man of firmness, intelligence, and integrity—was an excellent choice. That he led the party away from 'delegate democracy' as envisaged by social dreamers to a form of government where the cabinet was supreme, few farmers noticed. Not that he did this surreptitiously, for in the 1926 election campaign,

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> Brownlee operated on the conviction that Henry Wise Wood had not only failed to solve the practical problems of his philosophy of group government but that he also fully intended the government to carry on without United Farmers Association interference.
>
> (Betke, 1971, p. 83)

Brownlee's success in realizing this pledge augured well for his prestige as a leader. Further evidence of the esteem in which he was held was manifested during the 1926 election. For example, the United Farmers Association campaign pamphlets had a front page picture of Brownlee. Below his photograph was the caption "Five Years of Progress" despite the fact that at the time of the campaign Brownlee had been the first minister for less than one year.

Aside from the incumbent premier's personality, the campaign was based on the Government's record rather than on issues. Members of the cabinet constantly reminded the electorate of the party's achievements. And this strategy paid off for, despite the problems that were created by the political and social theories of the United Farmers Association and the members' retrenchment from principles they had sworn to uphold, the opposition was unable to generate any notable discontent among the farmers or enthusiasm among the electorate. Consequently, when the results were in, the United Farmers Association had won more seats than in the election of 1921: forty-three as compared to their previous thirty-nine. With this mandate Brownlee addressed himself to another term of provincial administration. Again he demonstrated his competence and the province gained from his leadership.*

In addition to having efficient administration, Albertans, during the first years of the second term of United Farmers Association government were blessed by some rare years of well-earned prosperity. This was but a part of a panoramic situation as,

> Canada and the world were reveling in one of the biggest binges in history. Everything was rosy; the world was at peace, the Empire had never been more solid . . . and in New York, Chicago, Toronto and Montreal, the stock exchanges were buzzing with buyers. In Canada, factories worked overtime.
>
> So, all over Alberta, except in the dried-out region, what with good crops, some oil and a new approach to the North, times were good.
>
> (MacGregor, 1972, p. 258)

This prosperity, however, was not grounded on a firm economic base. Nations and governments, financiers and agriculturalists—all had ignored the basic law of supply and demand. "Finally it struck back, first with a few light taps and then the knockout of October 29" (MacGregor, 1972, p. 261).

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*For a detailed discussion of Brownlee's administrative record see Betke (1971).

The Great Depression affected Canada more severely than any other industrialized nation with the exception of the United States (Grayson & Bliss, 1971, Introduction, p. viii). The American economy virtually collapsed because investment opportunities had dried up. Indicative of the seriousness of this situation was the drastic slump in stock market values. For example, International Nickel shares, which had sold at $72.50, fell to $4.50, Abiti from $57.00 to $1.00, and so on. In Canada, the disappearance of markets for export staples—agricultural exports fell from $783 million in 1928 to $253 million in 1931—precipitated the economic decline.

Casual laborers were the first to feel the effects of the economic squeeze; many were forced to go on relief. Then the semi-skilled lost their jobs followed by skilled carpenters, bricklayers, and their workers. The result was that during the worst times—the tail end of 1933—32.1 per cent of the wage earners in Canada were out of work (Horn, 1972, p. 10). As a group, though, it was the farmers who suffered the greatest loss of income; of these the hardest hit were the wheat farmers in the drought-stricken areas of the prairies. In view of the above, it is evident that most of the hardship was thrown on three groups—the farmers, the unemployed and those coming into the job market for the first time.

By Christmas of that year Albertans, like most Canadians, began to feel the depression's impact. As farm prices fell, and the ranks of the unemployed mushroomed, the residents of Alberta, like their counterparts across the nation, had to make drastic adjustments. And these had to be made immediately, for the depression seemed to have descended without warning.

It even affected Brownlee's United Farmers Association government which, pressed to pay interest on its own and previous Liberal mortgages, also had to come to the assistance of the Alberta Wheat Pool. Like many other businesses, the Wheat Pool had overextended its resources. Expecting business to go on in a normal fashion, it had paid farmers more for the 1929 crop than the amount for which it could be sold. Consequently, the Pool faced bankruptcy. Since the wheat industry was so important to the province, the Government averted its failure by guaranteeing the incurred bank overdraft.

Saving the Wheat Pool turned out to be a wise political as well as economic move for the United Farmers Association. This action, perhaps more than any other, stood Brownlee in good stead when in June, 1930, he called another election.

> If he had any qualms over the fact that nine years earlier the farmers had hoped that their government would be a mere tool in their hands to which the locals could dictate and that he of all men had been instrumental in shifting the relative positions so that the cabinet dictated to the locals, he never let them show.
>
> (MacGregor, 1972, p. 261)

And so his government was returned with a sizeable though reduced majority.

But this was a hollow victory, for very soon after the election the farmers began to realize that the United Farmers Association government had not fulfilled their dreams. As independent producers selling in a collapsed world market and heavily in debt, the farmers suffered severely throughout the decade even though, at the national level, signs of gradual recovery were evident after the winter of 1933. Then, fanning the flames of growing distaste for the provincial government were scandalous rumours about some of the cabinet members. The puritanical and fundamentalist populace had no mercy for a premier and his representatives who had diverted attention from the collapsed economic situation to amorous activities. The upshot of this reaction was the resignation of one of Alberta's best premiers. Brownlee's successor, R. G. Reid assumed the premier's office on July 10, 1934 and immediately began to prepare his party for an electoral contest with the new messiah, William Aberhart.

A high school teacher and evangelist preacher, Aberhart believed he had found the panacea to Alberta's socioeconomic problems when in 1932 he heard about Major Douglas's theory of Social Credit. It was a simple, fundamentalist message which offered economic salvation to the depressed if they would only believe. Subsequently, Aberhart's broadcasts included references to economic problems, purchasing power, and the possible benefits of Social Credit. The results of this shift in orientation were dramatic for,

> In a rural society with prices of farm products at an unprecedented low, and in a debtor society burdened by mortgages, any inflationary scheme looked attractive. When William Aberhart, the respected man of God, talked of inflation, his views carried authority.
>
> (Neatby, 1972, p. 152)

And when Aberhart applied his oratorical talents to presenting a dogmatic exposition of Social Credit "—so lucid that all could understand, so sincere that to doubt was almost a sin—it was then that Social Credit became a movement" (Neatby, 1972, p. 152).

Social Credit, particularly Aberhart's version, was very simple. As noted earlier, it was first articulated by Major Douglas, an English engineer, who had unbounded faith in technology. According to Douglas, modern technology could provide plenty for all but did not do so because a few powerful men controlled the money system and accumulated excessive profits at the expense of the majority. Total purchasing power, he maintained, always lagged behind the total price of all goods with the result that there was always poverty in the midst of plenty. The solution, however, was obvious—simply create enough money to bring purchasing power and the total cost of goods into balance. This required money was to be distributed in the form of dividends.

The deceptively simple solution raised extremely complex problems. How, for example, was 'social credit' to be determined? But where Douglas was vague on technical details, Aberhart was very clear. Credit was like blood; blood flows from the heart and after performing its functions, returns to the heart. Every hour, Aberhart stated, the heart pumps 135 gallons of blood which adds up to over one million gallons a year.

> Where am I going to get all the blood, he asked, will you tell me that? As a matter of fact, I believe I only have four quarts of blood in me, just about four quarts. Will you tell me how a heart can pump 135 gallons an hour with only four quarts of blood? Well, cannot money circulate the same way?
>
> (Irving, 1959, p. 117)

Aberhart made it so simple—put more money into the system, circulate it, and there will be plenty for all. Nor was there any need for Douglas' statistical calculations. Instead, out of his hat, Aberhart came up with the figure of $25.00 a month for every man and woman in Alberta.

> The fault lies with distribution. It's no good sidetracking the issue, we are just wasting our time looking for any further wrong when we know distribution is the whole cause. What is the remedy? . . . Social Credit with its basic dividend to every man and woman of $25.00 per month starts out with the corrective measures at once. It places purchasing power in the hands of the consumer. We have found a scientific way out of our troubles, and if we don't do it, then nobody else will. . . . Where does all the money come from? We don't use money. Then where does all the credit come from? Why, out of the end of a fountain pen . . . Social Credit is without doubt the solution to our present economic chaos of poverty in the midst of plenty.
>
> (Irving, 1959, p. 114)

The above illustrates the fundamentalist preacher in politics. In addition, Aberhart was an efficient organizer. Study groups were set up wherever radio listeners responded and these, in turn, became Social Credit clubs. The latter were the grassroots structure of a political party even before Aberhart announced late in 1934 that he wanted Social Credit candidates to contest every constituency in the next election.

Once underway, the campaign was like a 'victory procession.' Towering above all others, was Aberhart. He was the final authority on all issues: for the slate of candidates, the platform, the strategy, for everything. He was also the dominant figure in the campaign—he drew the crowd and the listeners. When election day came, the voting was heavy and more than half of the electors proved to be converts to the new party. It was a landslide victory as the Social Credit candidates had won 56 of the 63 ridings.

Once in office, Aberhart and his party were confronted with the task of implementing social credit theories. In line with Douglas' proposals, Aberhart had always maintained that experts would introduce the new monetary system and that the people should judge, not the means, but the results. He had also warned that it would take at least eighteen months to implement the "new system" before there would be any concrete results. Hence, it came as no surprise that during his first eighteen months of office, Aberhart introduced nothing that could be linked to the idea of Social Credit. In fact the initiative to take such action did not come from the premier but from insurgent backbenchers who, in 1937, insisted that it was time to put social credit into action. Consequently, during the next three or four sessions the legislature passed the Alberta Social Credit Measures Act, the Alberta Credit House Act, and several more. But they were all *ultra vires* or disallowed by Ottawa.

From a political point of view this was not serious. Aberhart could now pose as the champion of the people of Alberta, trying to keep his election promises but being thwarted by eastern financial interests. Hence, the theories of Social Credit were never implemented. Yet the Social Credit party, under the leadership of Aberhart and, after 1943, E. C. Manning, dominated the provincial political scene until 1971. The outbreak of World War II and the attendant economic revival, the post-war boom, the discovery and development of major oil fields, together with conscientious and efficient provincial administration, account, to a major extent, for the lengthy duration of Social Credit tenure.

Economic Trends

W. A. Mackintosh, in *Economic Problems of the Prairie Provinces*, states that:

> The focus of the economic circumstances of the settlement of the Canadian prairies is and has been wheat. Though the importance of that commodity has varied somewhat during the period of settlement, the dominance has not been seriously affected.
>
> (Mackintosh, 1935, p. 5)

The importance wheat has had for the West is demonstrated by the percentage of field-crop acreage in wheat in Alberta—from 22.8% in 1900 to 60.2% in 1921.* This increase was directly related to the overall increase in the number of acres brought under cultivation.

An interesting sidelight which witnessed the progressive increase of cultivated land is that up to 1914 this development was largely attributed to the rapid growth of railway mileage and to the steady influx of new settlers. Yet even though railway construction and immigration were sharply curtailed after the onset of World War I, cultivated acreage increased without interruption. The explanation of this apparent paradox is that,

> The war years brought favourable weather conditions and this, with the high agricultural prices that prevailed, brought general prosperity to an overwhelmingly agricultural province. . . . [Further] . . . the war so stimulated agricultural expansion that other industries remained of minor importance.
>
> (Thomas, 1959, pp. 154–155)

A comparable situation prevailed in the livestock industry, for though the number of cattle steadily increased in numbers and value from 1911 to 1916, it was the food shortage created by the war that caused beef production to rise to unprecedented levels. Prices also reached a peak in 1918.

> The average value of milk cows rose to $93 per head, and the average farm value of other cattle to $70 per head. The highest price reached on the Calgary market was $16.80 per hundred live weight in May 1918.
>
> (Blue, 1924, p. 332)

Similar developments occurred in the other livestock industries. Dairy production—part of the livestock industry—also showed signs of growth.

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* 1921 statistics will be quoted in all instances when 1917 data was not published.

Government promotion of the establishment of creameries augmented the impetus for increased production that came with wartime demands. The degree of growth was reflected in the census reports. For instance, the total value of dairy production reached a figure of $15,895,586 in 1915 as compared to $7,855,761 in 1910. By 1921, this figure rose to an unprecedented high of $25,500,000.

Prosperity however, was not confined to farming areas. Coal miners all over the province boosted their production—1,694,564 tons in 1911; 4,648,604 tons in 1916; and 5,937,195 tons in 1921. Mining of other minerals also experienced rapid growth. From 1912 to 1918 the value of mineral production increased from $12,073,589 to $23,109,987.

Despite the fact that "the war so stimulated agricultural expansion that other industries remained of minor importance" (Thomas, 1959, p. 155), noteworthy developments in the manufacturing industries occurred. For example, from 1906 to 1918 the value of manufactured products increased from almost $5 million to $75 million. This supports the view that,

> The war imparted a new tempo to Alberta and wrenched the province and the people into new . . . economic patterns. The year 1914 had started in a depression . . . but the war's needs quickly put money into circulation.
>
> (MacGregor, 1972, p. 232)

In general, it can be said that the war brought a period of general prosperity to Alberta.

Although the consequences of World War I for Canada (and Alberta) were complex, its general effects may be outlined briefly. Of signal importance was that the nation did not need to devise policies suitable to a slower rate of growth or to implement measures aimed to modify farming practices on the prairies.

> War removed the need for any marked change in the national policies which had proved so successful in the period of the [agricultural, and particularly the] wheat boom, and wheat continued . . . to hold its dominant position in the economy. Industry and manufacturing might respond to the stimulus of war orders, but basically . . . they remained largely dependent on the prosperity of the prairie region.
>
> (Easterbrook & Aitken, 1956, p. 488)

Hence the old industrialism of agriculture received a new lease on life during the war years even though the groundwork was being laid for its displacement. Further, there were few signs of the speculative element apparent during the wheat boom. Greater diversity in the national economic structure was encouraged, but continued reliance on a limited number of exportable products ensured that the nation's income would remain sensitive to external influences.

This was made apparent when the war-stimulated boom ended in 1920 and once again depression threatened the economy—particularly prairie agriculture. To meet wartime demands for agricultural products, the prairie farmer had expanded production by increasing the size of his operation. Land and equipment were purchased at inflated prices. The farmer, in the process, had gone deeply into debt. Consequently, when the price of wheat dropped from the $2.14 average for the period 1917-20 to $1.07 in 1924, disaster threatened. Other parts of the economy also faced depression as manufacturing and industry confronted depressed foreign and national markets.

Fortunately, at least temporarily, world conditions improved to resolve the most serious of the country's problems.

> Post-war reconstruction, the return of monetary stability, and a high and sustained volume of United States foreign lending brought about . . . economic recovery. It is true that its foundations were unsound, but for a time the threat of depression was lifted from North America and Europe. The price of Canada's main exports moved up once more, and once more Canada's income from her export trade showed a sharp increase.
>
> (Easterbrook & Aitken, 1956, p. 490)

For Alberta, this trend marked the beginning of the "prosperous twenties"—a period that brought new success to the province and its resources: farming, mines, oil and natural gas, forests, electric power, railways, and the start of an air industry. To Albertans, it seemed that such expansion would go on forever—until Thursday, October 24, 1929 when the bottom dropped out of the New York stock market. From that time to about 1933, the economy experienced a sharp downswing in every sector. "World-wide depression struck with great severity an area intrinsically . . . sensitive to external shocks" (Easterbrook & Aitken, 1956, p. 493).

Ironically, a considerable number of Albertans were not immediately aware that anything of great importance had happened. Dimly and gradually, however, they realized that the crash portended a serious depression. What brought this stark reality to their attention were the consequences that the financial upheaval had upon the wheat economy.

> For the wheat economy . . . the picture was . . . dark. The average annual production of wheat for the period 1920-28 was 220.5 million bushels; for 1928-38, 138 million bushels. The export price of wheat dropped more than 50 per cent over the period 1929-33 and in 1932 the price per bushel was little more than 40 per cent of that of 1929. A fall in volume or price of this order would have brought a serious depression; together they spelled ruin.
>
> (Easterbrook & Aitken, 1956, p. 493)

Consequently, the farmers received almost no money for their produce and, particularly in those areas that were parched by drought, many had to default on their mortgages. "Through this poverty, debt, and worry, [they] steered a bitter course" (MacGregor, 1972, p. 263). Also, the collapse of wheat prices almost spelled disaster to the Wheat Pool—the organization which had been the most ambitious creation of the western grain growers, the one on which the hopes for prosperity and security had been based. As was indicated earlier, only direct action by the government averted its failure.

The conditions referred to above continued to deteriorate to the end of 1932—the year that the depression reached its lowest ebb. Prairie farmers felt the full impact of this situation as the price of No. 1 wheat at Winnipeg dropped to thirty-eight cents a bushel. When translated to elevator prices, it meant that producers received about twenty cents per bushel. On top of these troubles their creditors, the banks, mortgage and machine companies, themselves almost insolvent, "bore down on them" (MacGregor, 1972, p. 264). Though the whole country suffered, in the west, drought and rust combined with falling prices to make the tragedy even more severe. Primary producers who had to sell in world markets had no defense against the slump of export prices while wage earners in manufacturing industries were at least partially protected by new tariff laws. Even so, in 1933 there were 826,000 Canadians—almost a quarter of the labor force—out of work.

Though the depression reached its lowest ebb in Canada in 1932 and signs of gradual national recovery were noticeable after the winter of 1933, such was not the situation on the prairies. Farmers, especially on the prairies, suffered more during the downswing and, further, had to wait longer for a recovery. Although the entire economy suffered, it seemed as if events conspired against the farmer—especially the wheat farmer. For example,

> In 1930, the United States, Germany, Italy and France sharply increased the degree of protection given to their agriculturists, huge supplies of Russian and United States wheat flooded the world market, and currency depreciation by such competitors as the Argentine and Australia further weakened Canada's position in the world's wheat trade. The fall in per capita income in Saskatchewan far exceeded that in other parts of the country. According to Professor Mackintosh, while Canada's per capita income declined somewhat less than 50 per cent from 1928–29 to 1933, that of Alberta fell more than 60 per cent. . . . Nature and man seemed to conspire against the agriculturist.
>
> (Easterbrook & Aitken, 1956, pp. 493–494)

On the prairies, therefore, the depression did not reach its lowest point until 1936 and, further, no significant recovery was evident before 1940.

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Despite the adversities that confronted the farmers, Alberta's wealth (or lack of it) during the periods examined was closely tied to agriculture. Even during the most difficult years, agriculture retained its dominant position. For example, in 1930 agriculture accounted for 49.07% of the province's output. By comparison, forestry accounted for 2.40%; mining, 8.86%; electric power, 1.60%; and manufacturing for 27.30% (*Alberta Facts & Figures*, 1950, p. 15). A major factor that contributed to this dominance was a general increase in the area devoted to the major cereal grains during the period reviewed.

Similarly, the livestock industry showed slow though steady increases from 1912 to 1936. Parallel growth in the value of the livestock population, however, did not occur. In fact, the opposite prevailed. Two major factors accounted for this trend. These were:

> 1. The slump in cattle–prices to pre–war levels.
> 2. The United States Emergency Tariff which closed the American market to Alberta producers and brought back the days of three cent and four cent beef.
>
> (Blue, 1924, p. 332)

Consequently, the value of the livestock population dropped from the all time high of $134,172,000 reached in 1921 to $77,473,000 in 1936 (*Alberta Facts & Figures*, 1950, p. 111).

Such variable patterns of growth, however, were not exclusive to the agricultural industry. Similar trends were manifested in the mining industry as the value of mineral, coal, and petroleum production in 1935–36 fell below the levels set in the early or late twenties.

Manufacturing too had its peaks and troughs. In Alberta, this industry suffered most from the recession of 1921. From this setback it did not recover until 1928–29. In the latter year it dropped again and did not show signs of recovery until 1934.

In summary, the period from 1912 to 1936 covered three different and extreme eras. One was of relatively good times and a subsequent recession. One was of 'good times'—the roaring twenties, and one was of 'hard times.' The last two periods were sharply divided by the crash of 1929. This depression affected the entire world, but a "one-commodity" economy such as Alberta's was hit hardest.

Population and Immigration

Despite the Alberta and Great Waterways Railway crisis of 1910 "the construction of new lines of railway continued at a rapid pace up to 1915, when it was stayed by the Great War" (Morton & Martin, 1938, p. 140). Some lines were simply the completion of a development or were concerned with the opening of lumber regions. Others, particularly in the farther west where the roads had run mostly east and west, north and south lines were built to unite existing lines.

Regarding settlement, the railways not only opened up new territory, but also gave employment to a large number of settlers. Evidently, railroad construction had a multi-faceted impact on colonization and settlement in Alberta. In conjunction with Sifton's immigration policy, it facilitated a phenomenal rate of increase in Alberta's population between 1906 and 1911, the marked, though less striking demographic growth that continued until the latter half of 1914 and then the renewed rapid growth during the twenties.

Yet the importance of the above developments should not be overemphasized. Other factors converged to make Sifton's efforts and the railway policy of more avail than previous attempts to attract settlers. Principal among these was the industrial expansion in England and Continental Europe. The growing concentration of urban population in Europe stimulated a demand for raw materials including foodstuffs at a time when trade in foodstuffs was not hampered by high tariffs. Thus the cheap frontier lands were able to compete with the high-priced agricultural lands in Europe. Furthermore, the lowering of freight rates enhanced Canada's agricultural attractiveness relative to the United States. Combined, these factors coincided with Sifton's determination to open up Western Canada. All these variables account for the doubling of Alberta's population during the five years after 1906 and for the fact that "immigrants continued to pour in at the rate of forty thousand per year until in 1914 World War I dried up the flow" (MacGregor, 1972, p. 196).

Once the war started, the influx of immigrants to Alberta was reduced to a trickle. Ironically, part of this 'trickle' was a side effect of the war—specifically, America's entry into the conflict brought the first Hutterian Brethren to Alberta.

> When the United States got into the war and they [the Hutterites] were called upon to undergo military service, many of them moved to Canada, which in its desire for immigrants promised to exempt them from such service.
>
> (MacGregor, 1972, p. 238)

Though the Brethren did not find Alberta a haven of tolerance, Hutterite migration to this province was, in relative terms, substantial.

Evidence of this is seen in the fact that by 1972, of the approximately 18,000 Hutterites in the world, 6,500 lived in Alberta (Palmer, 1972, p. 39).

But if the war had a significant impact on immigration, the aftermath of hostilities exerted an equally characteristic influence on the post–war pattern of immigration to Alberta. Most pronounced was the marked decline that coincided with the beginning of the depression. That these two factors—war and economic decline—significantly affected immigration to Alberta can be discerned from the statistical data presented in Table 14.

Table 14

Immigration to Alberta 1905—1936 *

Year	*No. of Immigrants*	*Year*	*No. of Immigrants*
1905-1906	26,177	1921-1922	11,825
1906-1907	17,559	1922-1923	8,798
1907-1908	31,477	1923-1924	10,430
1908-1909	27,651	1924-1925	10,952
1909-1910	42,509	1925-1926	12,540
1910-1911	44,782	1926-1927	16,367
1911-1912	45,957	1927-1928	15,473
1912-1913	48,073	1928-1929	14,970
1913-1914	43,471	1929-1930	6,441
1914-1915	18,263	1930-1931	2,041
1915-1916	7,215	1931-1932	1,635
1916-1917	12,418	1932-1933	1,254
1917-1918	16,821	1933-1934	1,012
1918-1919	11,640	1934-1935	768
1919-1920	20,000	1935-1936	923
1920-1921	17,781		

Despite the fluctuations in immigration, total population figures for the period reviewed reveal substantial growth. Relevant demographic data illustrating this point and rural–urban distribution are presented in Table 15. As statistics reveal, rural and urban population increased considerably after the 1911 census. However, it is also apparent that by 1931, the 'magnet' of urban life had effectively appealed to the residents of the rural communities and to the immigrants.

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* (*Alberta Facts & Figures*, 1950, p. 51)

Table 15

Total Population—Alberta 1911-1936 *

Year	*Urban*	*Rural*	*Total*
1911	137,662	236,633	374,295
1916	188,749	307,776	496,525
1921	222,904	365,550	588,454
1926	233,848	373,751	607,599
1931	278,508	453,097	731,605
1936	286,447	486,335	772,782

Sociocultural Developments

> There is no record of any tendency to enter the political field on the part of the Society of Equity or the Alberta Farmers' Association and it was almost taken for granted in drawing up the constitution of the amalgamating bodies in 1909 that the United Farmers of Alberta would have to be non-political.
>
> (Priestley & Swindlehurst, 1967, p. 64)

The non-partisan orientation was reflected in the fact that, initially, the United Farmers of Alberta was an organization largely devoted to farm education. The objectives of the provincial association were in accord with those expressed by the Canadian Council of Agriculture, founded in 1909 to coordinate the work of the various Grain Growers' Associations. In the official organ of the Council, *Grain Growers' Guide*, the importance of education was stressed. A relevant excerpt is cited below:

> [Our first objective will be] to organize the farm population of the Dominion for the study of social and economic problems having a bearing on the happiness and material prosperity of the people.
>
> (Hopkins, 1919, p. 364)

But if the United Farmers Association began as a non-partisan organization, the political awareness of its members grew quickly as general discontent became widespread. Justifiably, the farmers believed that they were being exploited by eastern interests. Grain prices were low, grain delivery via the Canadian Pacific was expensive, federal protectionist policies inflated the price of manufactured items, and large land companies exploited many farmers. There was also a growing disenchantment with eastern based political parties. Besides allegedly engaging in corrupt and sophisticated political practices, the eastern political machine revoked the farmers' previous military exemption. This rankled the farm community and gave new impetus to the agrarian trend toward political action. The force of this impetus is revealed in the about-face the association made in 1919 when it decided to become an electoral organization.

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* (*Alberta Facts & Figures*, 1950, p. 28)

This decision was followed by a striking increase in United Farmers Association membership. "Membership which had grown fairly steadily from 2,000 in 1909 to 18,000 at the end of 1918, increased during 1919 to nearly 29,000, during 1920 to nearly 31,000, and during 1921 to nearly 38,000" (Macpherson, 1953, p. 64). After the United Farmers Association gained political supremacy in the province, it was 'business as usual' among the farming communities and a fatal apathy displaced the pre-election excitement and activity. This attitude was reflected by a sharp drop in membership after the election year: at the end of 1922 it stood just below 19,000 and for the next four years varied between 12,000 and 15,000.

But if political involvement waned after 1921, engagement in the initial activities and objectives (to secure the welfare of the agricultural community in the country and to improve the lot of the individual farmer by improving his life and work) did not decline. And since education was seen as a means of fulfillment of these objectives, the farmers' movement continued its interest in adult and rural education. In this area, the movement was particularly active in the thirties. Reports prepared by the United Farmers Association Education Committee recommended basic changes in two areas. These were: (1) educational opportunity; and (2) the secondary school curriculum.

In addition to the efforts of the committee, there were individual United Farmers Association members who attempted to reform education. William Irvine was one of those most interested in this field. Education, he claimed, was important to the life of democracy, but this type of social relationship was endangered by the bankruptcy of the current education system. The cause of this bankruptcy, Irvine believed, was the irrelevance of institutionalized education to the life of the worker and farmer. Since high schools were reserved almost entirely for the rich, he advocated the development of vocational training in the schools to make education meaningful to the majority of students. Only such an education could lead to the development of the whole person and, eventually, to the attainment and establishment of a new social order "based not on fighting but on fraternity" (Irvine, 1920, p. 47).

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Even more active in educational reform were the women of the farmers' movement. Among the most influential individuals in this group was the Honourable Irene Parlby. In the crusade that she waged on behalf of education, Mrs. Parlby advocated a type of education she called "creative—a type that frees . . . all that tremendous power which is to be found in a greater or lesser degree in the undercurrent of children's minds" (Parlby, n.d.). In her address to the 1925 United Farm Women's Association convention, she introduced the Dalton Plan to the assembled members. The plan, she stated, "permits children to learn by the scientific method and to investigate and discover for themselves" (Parlby, n.d., p. 44).

In addition to the independent work done by Mrs. Parlby, there was a considerable amount of organized promotion on behalf of education. Most effective of the organized efforts was the work done by the Education Committee of the United Farm Women's Association. Teacher quality, educational financing, curriculum, and the aims of education were the central concerns of this group. After extensive comparative studies of educational innovations and experiments implemented or carried out in various parts of the world, the United Farm Women's Association brought its resolutions on education before the United Farmers Association. Yet their efforts, and the work of other committed individuals, had little impact in determining the official philosophy of education in the province.

Nor were the Education Committees alone in their failure to realize the establishment of a social order based "on fraternity; not on the competitive struggles for the means of basic life, but a distribution for the benefit of all who participate by hand or brain" (Irvine, 1920, p. 47). Such too was the failure of the social gospel movement:

> That movement of Christian social thought and action which arose in the last decades of the nineteenth century in the context of a society becoming increasingly collectivized under the impulse of industrialism and urbanism.
>
> (Allen, 1975, p. 3)

This failure can largely be attributed to the fact that the crisis of the social gospel was intimately bound up with the misfortunes of the farmer, labor, and social workers just as the fortunes of these groups were influenced by the inadequacy of the social gospel ideology. Further, it was no coincidence that the crisis of the social gospel was contemporary with the crisis of the Progressive Party—a party which was, in effect, an agrarian and sectarian bloc from the continental West. For the social gospel at large, the significance of the decline of the Progressive party was the withering of the belief that tremendous potential for social reconstruction would accompany the progress of democratic movements like the farmers' organizations. The result was the end of enchantment, and in the political aftermath of the crisis of the social gospel and the progressive party, "the standards of hope gave way to the standards of pragmatism" (Allen, 1975, p. 351).

But if the educational section of the United Farmers Association and the social gospellers fell short of realizing their objectives, their failures were at least partially offset by the relatively significant successes of the labor unions. For example, by 1900 nearly every trade and craft in the province was organized at one or more centers. The other form of labor organization, trade unionism, followed much the same pattern. The success of this movement had been due to a variety of causes. Most instrumental were the demands of war and the attendant labor shortage. That this trend continued in the post-war period was exemplified by the unions' continued success in obtaining higher wages for their members.

But if rapid industrial growth, labor shortages, inflation, and serious wage-price lags during World War I and the immediate post-war period were conducive to the expansion of unionism, the maladjustments of the post-war period also sharpened antagonisms within the Canadian labor movement that seriously weakened it after 1921. In the late twenties a vigorous program was initiated to bring the various labor groups into a purely Canadian organization. However, the severe depression and unemployment of the Dirty Thirties put new strains on the Canadian and Albertan labor movements. The result was declining memberships in the Canadian Congress and the Trades and Labor Congress. Only after new developments in the United States gave American workers tangible results did membership in the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada show significant gains. By 1938 the Canadian labor movement attained a size close to the 1920–21 peak.

Despite divisiveness and adversity, overall labor presented a united front when confronted by the common denominator of economic necessity. But despite the fact that conditions in the West tended to promote unity, diversity remained a prairie characteristic. Information detailing the ethnic and religious mosaic of Alberta during the period discussed is shown in Tables 16, 17 and 18.

Though the ethnic and religious diversity described above gave Alberta a most interesting cultural mosaic, and though as early as 1914 it was felt that foreign influence was no longer a threat to the distinctive nature of Canadian society, residents who could not claim Anglo-Saxon lineage continued to be subjects of prejudice and discrimination. Oriental and eastern-European immigrants were the principal targets of such abuse. As these 'foreigners' were gradually assimilated, negative sentiments and actions subsided, though they have yet to be entirely eliminated.

Table 16
Population by Racial Origin *

Racial Origins	*1916 No.*	*1921 No.*	*1926 No.*	*1931 No.*	*1936 No.*
British Isles	298,811	351,820	350,086	389,238	400,135
English	154,660	180,478	178,546	188,456	198,174
Irish	58,068	68,246	68,092	79,978	81,591
Scotch	81,344	96,062	96,339	110,720	110,252
Others	4,739	7,034	7,109	10,084	10,118
Europe	177,705	214,257	239,736	320,648	346,880
Asia	3,101	4,262	3,671	4,929	4,110
Others	15,247	15,605	14,106	16,176	21,523
Not Stated	1,661	2,510	------	614	134
Total	496,525	588,454	607,599	731,605	772,782

Paralleling the trends documented above were other important developments in this period of Alberta's history. Ushered in at the end of the First World War, the "roaring twenties . . . not only transformed Canada and the rest of the world but swept Alberta to new heights" (MacGregor, 1972, p. 245). All its resources, from the relatively well–established to the fledgling air industry, shared in the impetus. Even the illegal rum–running and bootlegging enterprises flourished as never before.

The "new era" also saw a renewed interest and activity in railroad construction. Among others, the Canadian National Railway built a line north of the Saskatchewan River through the Ukrainian settlement near Smoky Lake and east of there until in 1920 it extended to Father Lacombe's St. Paul des Métis. Not to be outdone, the Canadian Pacific Railway built a line south of that river through Andrew, Willingdon, Marwayne and on to Lloydminster. Extensions were also made in the northern part of the province and by 1929 the railway extended from Grande Prairie as far as Hythe.

Nor was increased railroad mileage the only improvement in transportation facilities. Equally significant was the expanding network of highways. Though the total highway mileage and the yearly increases were by present–day standards nominal, each additional mile contributed to improved movement of goods and people. Increased highway mileage of a higher standard plus a buoyant economy resulted in more Albertans turning to the automobile as a means of transportation.

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* *Alberta Facts & Figures*, 1950, p. 40

Table 17
Distribution of Population
European Races 1916 and 1936 *

European Races	*1916* *No.*	*1921* *No.*	*1926* *No.*	*1931* *No.*	*1936* *No.*
German	33,997	35,333	47,114	74,450	90,961
Ukrainian	24,026	23,827	35,819	55,872	63,073
Scandinavian	35,809	44,545	47,013	59,461	61,183
Danish	4,753	6,772	7,872	11,403	11,626
Icelandic	700	507	775	870	1,033
Norwegian	17,105	21,323	22,058	27,360	28,435
Swedish	13,251	15,943	16,308	19,828	20,089
French	24,286	30,913	31,582	38,377	39,800
Polish	4,676	7,172	11,668	21,157	24,060
Dutch	6,429	9,490	9,740	13,665	12,977
Russian	18,647	21,212	20,161	16,381	12,675
Czech and Slovak		2,537	3,942	6,404	7,321
Hungarian	1,435	1,045	2,022	5,502	6,006
Austrian	15,069	19,430	10,929	6,737	6,363
Italian	2,920	4,028	4,070	4,766	4,802
Roumanian	986	2,017	3,534	4,712	4,634
Belgian	1,983	2,590	2,354	2,726	2,679
Bulgarian	75	80		146	
Finnish	2,245	2,926	3,077	3,318	3,135
Greek	238	350	416	601	
Jewish (Hebrew)	2,843	3,242	1,900	3,722	3,332
Lettish		156	173		
Lithuanian		94	203	678	806
Swiss	1,726	2,468	2,487		
Yugoslavian		802	705		1,454
Other European Races	315		827	1,973	1,559
Total European Races	177,705	214,257	239,736	320,648	346,880

A similar pattern was evident in the trend toward farm mechanization. Most prominent in this trend was the increasing number of tractors that 'putt-putted' their way across the fields. Actually there were two periods within this era of phenomenal increase in tractor sales. One covered the years 1919 and 1920 and showed the effects of the high prices of wheat which prevailed until the first post-war decline. The other occurred between 1927 and 1929 with the stimulus of steadying prices. Following the peak of 1929, the

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* *Alberta Facts & Figures*, 1950, p. 40

Table 18

Population by Religious Denomination 1921 and 1941 *

Religious Denominations	*1921* *No.*	*1931* *No.*	*1941* *No.*
Adventist	3,533	4,213	4,697
Anglican	98,395	112,979	113,279
Baptist	27,829	30,496	32,268
Brethren	1,103	1,192	1,014
United Brethren	1,012	124	32
Buddhist	393	366	373
Christian	2,298	2,315	1,372
Christian Science	1,932	2,075	1,713
Church of Christ Disciples	777	1,251	2,103
Church of God	595	943	1,392
Confucian	2,154	1,728	1,799
Doukhobor	306	786	822
Evangelical Church	1,626	2,133	4,165
Greek Catholic			39,278
Greek Orthodox	35,815	26,427	34,991
International Bible Students' Assoc.	627	1,252	1,010
Jewish	3,186	3,663	4,052
Lutheran	59,543	82,411	84,630
Mennonite (incl. Hutterites)	3,125	8,289	12,097
Moravian	648	1,448	1,522
Mormon	11,373	13,185	14,960
Pentecostal	1,048	3,655	8,451
Plymouth Brethren	426	528	464
Presbyterian	120,991	72,069	68,910
Protestant	3,252	1,931	917
Reformed Church	781	776	1,100
Roman Catholic	97,432	168,408	152,065
Salvation Army	1,773	2,024	2,103
United Church of Canada		176,816	193,664
Other Religious Denominations	12,263	7,099	9,468
Not Stated	1,155	1,023	1,458
Congregationalists	3,340	(See United Church of Canada)	
Methodists	89,723	(See United Church of Canada)	
Total	588,454	731,605	769,169

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*(*Alberta Facts & Figures*, 1950, p. 45)

tremendous drop in prices of farm produce was paralleled by a decline in new tractors purchased for farm use.

Equally significant developments were occurring in areas other than the economic. Some examples are:

1. The beginning of the newly-born air industry.
2. Continued success of Alberta's world-famous basketball team—the Grads.
3. The repeal of the Prohibition Act.
4. A women's movement, led by Emily Murphy which culminated with a Privy Council decision that "women were indeed persons."
5. The beginning and eventual formation of another reform group.

For news of these events Albertans turned on their perfected radio sets to listen to the stations brought into being by venturesome businessmen in 1922: CJCA in Edmonton, and CFAC and CFCN in Calgary. But just as things seemed to hold out most promise "the world's train of prosperity jumped the track" and, in due course, Albertans were confronted with the severest depression in their relatively short but eventful history. By the time the depression reached its lowest point (1936), rumour spread that some of the people in the province were wearing gunnysacks and that farmers were reduced to eating gophers. But the wildest rumours falling on the ear of despair have a ring of truth. Albertans and all westerners were looking for new gods.

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATIONAL TRENDS—1912-1936

Political, Economic, and Sociocultural Factors—Their Implications for Education, 1912-1918

Though the public men of the Territories were divided into two distinct parties following the passage of the Autonomy Bills, the majority of the predominantly rural population considered this structure an imposition by eastern interests. Hence, Liberal election victories were not so much the consequence of public approval of Liberal policies as they were the result of a situation where the farmers, regarding both parties as evil,

> Voted for the Liberals as the lesser of two evils. For that party had demonstrated that with the ring in its nose it had to relinquish control over the legislature to the farmers and would head where they had pointed it.
>
> (MacGregor, 1972, p. 215)

Confirmation of this was evident in the third legislature, often referred to as the "farmers' session," (*Edmonton Bulletin*, March 1, 1913, p. 1) where several of the public general acts were drafted to appeal to the agrarian vote. One, directly concerned with education, was the act that established agricultural schools and a Board of Agriculture to supervise them. By 1914, three of these schools were organized—in Olds, Claresholm, and Vermilion.

There were, however, reasons other than political motives for providing agricultural schools. Both provincial and federal governments were concerned about the slipshod farming practices of the era. Hence, a great deal of effort was expended in the attempt to educate homesteaders to farm efficiently. Experimental stations, agricultural schools, fairs, and exhibitions were established or sponsored for this purpose. So, political considerations notwithstanding, economic interests were more than minor determinants of Alberta's agricultural education program.

To be sure, economic factors influenced a broader spectrum of education than mentioned above. A 'suggested index' of this influence is the coincident growth of the province's economic production and of the school system. A summary of this expansion is presented in Table 19.

Table 19

Summary of School Statistics 1912-1918 *

Year	*No. of School Districts Organized*	*Pupils Enrolled*	*Teachers Employed*	*Total Grants Paid to Schools*
1912	2,019	71,042	3,054	414,115.73
1913	2,236	79,909	3,298	461,288.56
1914	2,360	89,910	3,978	507,681.95
1915	2,489	97,286	4,218	540,235.08
1916	2,624	99,210	4,607	553,141.44
1917	2,773	107,727	5,133	625,829.54
1918	2,964	111,039	5,652	987,169.66

As seen from the above table, provincial grants were paid to schools. This financial aid eased the burden of maintaining the schools and prompted their erection, "two to a township; . . . an index of how eager immigrants were to provide their children with education." Yet this development, particularly in sparsely populated or marginal agricultural regions, proved to be a heavy financial burden. Besides, their low tax base provided limited revenue for quality instruction or for the erection of high schools. These negative conditions (limited financial resources, sparse population, and a teacher shortage) prompted centralization of educational services.

Interest in consolidated school districts was expressed by Alberta school inspectors in 1912. The following year legislation was passed which authorized the joining of two or more districts on the recommendation of the boards of trustees and a majority vote of approval by the ratepayers involved. About a year later, these conditions were met in the Warner area. "In that same year the Foremost Consolidated School District was formed. The year 1915 saw ten more such districts organized. The tally for 1916 was 16, and 14 during the next year, 16 in 1918, 11 in 1919" (Thomson, 1976, p. 3). The movement continued until relatively recent times (1966), although it effectively came to an end in 1931.

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* (*Annual Report of the Department of Education*, 1913-1918)

Economic concerns which were in part responsible for initiating the consolidated school district movement, had allied effects in the educational field. Principal among these was the formation of the Alberta Teachers' Alliance in 1918. From the outset the organization made its objectives public. In the constitution drafted in 1918, the purposes of the society were specifically stated. These were:

> a. To advance and safeguard the cause of education in the Province of Alberta,
> b. To raise the status of the teaching profession in the Province of Alberta,
> c. To unite the members of the Society in an association for their mutual improvement, protection, and general welfare,
> d. To bring about united action on any matter of common interest to the teachers.
> e. To cooperate with teachers' organizations in other provinces.
>
> (Chalmers, 1967, p. 22)

This noble set of objectives helped unite all the teachers in a single organization. Together with teachers' reactions to extremely unsatisfactory working conditions, these objectives were largely responsible for recruiting 65 per cent of the province's teachers into the Alliance within the next three years.

As was mentioned earlier, the basic reasons why teachers were disenchanted fell into two categories: economic and educational. Each of these categories subsumed multi-dimensional facets, some of which were peculiar to the West. One of these, largely the consequence of stringent local budgets, was the practice of 'boarding the teacher' in lieu of school tax payments. In instances where the teacher found a place comparable to his or her own home, the policy was viable. But where many found themselves in tiny dwellings and in a different cultural setting where an 'alien tongue' was spoken, problems were encountered. Of the foreigners least attractive to the teachers (particularly those with creditable qualifications) were the Ukrainians. This aversion was only "a crystallization of the feeling of the general public throughout the whole of the West towards this class of immigrants" (Woodsworth, 1972, p. 110).

Had there been sufficient numbers of certified teachers of East Slavic extraction, there would have been no problem in staffing schools located in areas where Ukrainians were the majority. But such personnel were not available. Hence, to staff these schools with instructors who could meet the needs of the Ukrainians, local leaders advocated, as an interim measure, the policy of importing Ukrainian teachers from Saskatchewan and Manitoba. As a long-range objective, the Ukrainian Liberal supporters demanded a Ukrainian training school. This demand coincided with the Education Department's attempt to cope with the language problem. Consequently, a 'school for foreigners' was established in Vegreville in 1913. Unfortunately, the bold move did not bring the desired results. Plagued with difficulties from the beginning, the enterprise was terminated in 1916.

Evident in the preceding paragraphs is that establishment and termination of the 'school for foreigners' was the result of the interplay of social forces. A similar phenomenon—the interaction of necessary conditions which contributed to the manifestation of a specific event—was evident in the agrarian movements in Alberta (the United Farmers of Alberta and the United Farm Women of Alberta).

Initially, the United Farmers of Alberta was an organization devoted to farmer education. But in response to the prevailing socioeconomic conditions, its concerns soon shifted to economic and eventually to political issues. Interest in education, however, did not cease even though the association's involvement in this field was not particularly prominent before the 1920s. In the first year of that decade momentum was given to such participation by the newly created Education Department. From this time the work in education carried on by the United Farmers of Alberta was impressive. And as was the case with the parent organization, the United Farm Women of Alberta also—though focusing on educational matters from their inception—began initiating noteworthy educational enterprises only after World War I.

To this point, emphasis has been placed on economic, political, and sociocultural factors and their implications for education. Equally important, however, were the interrelated and coincident technological developments. With respect to the interrelatedness of these social forces, the connection between them is demonstrated by the impact that the introduction to the prairies of Red Fife and Marquis wheat had on the economy of Alberta; and further illustrated by the imprint that inventions such as the steel-roller milling process, new ploughs, binders, and other agricultural and industrial machinery, made upon the economic, sociocultural and educational patterns of the province.

Early-maturing wheat with desirable milling qualities, such as Marquis, had a twofold influence on the prairie economy. The first characteristic—early maturation—made it possible to grow wheat on the fertile lands around Peace River and Grande Prairie. Increased acreage meant greater annual production. The second characteristic—high milling qualities—brought a strong demand and higher prices for Western wheat. Combined, these factors meant more money to the farmer. With this higher cash inflow, he was able to purchase the best equipment on the market and further bolster his production. Also, the new equipment relieved him from formerly tedious and arduous labor. More leisure time meant changed sociocultural patterns. For instance, among the other factors discussed earlier, time free from work was an important determinant in the establishment of the United Farm Women's Association and its involvement in cultural and educational activities. These socioeconomic conditions had some effect upon the educational system too. For example, as the country's agricultural and manufacturing industries developed, there was a greater need for skilled labor. A simple index of this growing need would be the increased demand for people knowledgeable in the art of mechanics as automobiles became more prevalent in the cities, towns, and country.

Concomitant and parallel developments in other sectors of Western society created the need for vocational schools. As early as 1914 these needs were recognized and efforts were made to meet them. Writing about this situation in the year referred to above, John M. MacEachern stated:

> One of the remarkable features . . . of the . . . schools is the endeavour to meet the special needs of their respective communities. They are not content merely to follow the prescribed courses of instruction, but are developing these and are branching out along new lines calculated to stimulate the higher efficiency of the school organization. . . . The problem of technical education is at present occupying a good deal of attention.
>
> (MacEachern, 1914, p. 495)

The inclusion of vocational courses in the high school curriculum and the establishment of technical schools signified a regional trend in educational development. Such measures provided the rungs in the educational ladder that enabled frontier areas to develop their own technical labor force. They appeared "early in such areas because they, like the public school . . . [were] supported by public funds and . . . [were] democratically controlled institutions" (Dawson & Younge, 1938, p. 159).

As seen from the above, social change can, and often has been, initiated and/or accelerated by technological developments. Significant as these have been, it would be a distortion of history if the influence of science were restricted to the technical and associated dimensions of human life. Just as inventions have revolutionized industrial activities, and consequently sociocultural patterns, so too has 'rational empiricism' universally affected the life and thought of men. On the Alberta scene this phenomenon was exemplified by the Protestant adoption of the theory of evolution to rationalize the social gospel movement. To do this the exponents of reform had to attach less importance to personal atonement, divine grace, and, hence, the salvation of the individual and instead demand the evangelization or Christianization of the world. "The sense of an immanent God working in the movements of revival and awakening was easily transferred to social movements, and hence to the whole evolution of society" (Allen, 1971, p. 7). Seen in this light, the concept of God-man dichotomy was dissolved. In its place was substituted the idea of a continuum—one in which man could attain Christlike perfectibility by reforming the social order. Such a view entailed not an eschatological world view but an evolutionary teleological perspective.

Factors That Led To the 1918 Revision

Significant as were the developments in the political, economic, and social dimensions of Alberta's society between 1912 and 1918, these played a relatively subordinate role in attracting public and official attention to the need for change in the elementary school program and in the actual rewriting of the curriculum in 1918. This stance is assumed not to introduce 'irrationality' (Robin, 1969, p. 22) or a variation of Augustinian historicity into the arena of events that culminated in the revision, but to suggest that some other factor was the primary catalyst responsible for changes that occurred in the school program. In this case the effective agent was the intellectual factor: ideas. That 'ideas have consequences' is, according to writers such as Carlyle and Weaver, incontestable. For example, the former asserts that,

> The thing a man does practically believe . . . the thing a man does practically lay to heart, and know for certain, concerning his vital relations . . . that is in all cases the primary thing for him, and creativity determines all the rest.
>
> (1948, p. 18)

The importance of 'ideas' as a social force in the evolutionary development of Alberta's curriculum was demonstrated in the events that resulted in the revision under discussion. Of particular significance to this development were those 'ideas' that influenced the educational perspectives of the individuals who occupied positions of authority and/or influence. Two of these 'ideas,' because of their pervasiveness and the eventual imprint they left on education in the province, demand identification and elaboration.

First was the idea or belief that the existent school program was deficient on a number of significant counts. To begin, there was the charge that the program failed to give pupils the opportunity to acquire "practical understanding of the practical realities of everyday life" (Sheane, 1948, p. 45). A correlative criticism was that, in this period, the pattern of school life "emphasized attention to words and symbols, while it neglected experience with things they represented" (Sheane, 1948, p. 45). Principal among those who voiced such dissatisfaction were the school inspectors.

But discontent with the school program was not the inspectors' only grievance. Just as condemning were their expressed views regarding the quality of instruction that prevailed in many schools. Teachers, particularly in rural areas, were maligned for having but limited preparation for their profession. On this topic, Inspector Morgan said: "Lack of knowledge on the part of teachers was the cause of the failure in agriculture, nature study, drawing, and the manual arts" (*Annual Report* of the Department of Education, 1912, p. 62). Inspector MacGregor of the Tofield electorate declared that, "The character of work done in the school is just as good as the teacher in charge" (*Annual Report of the Department of Education,*1913, p. 89).

Such views not only placed teacher incompetency in the limelight, but also suggested that the weakness of the educational system could be eliminated by improving teacher training. With this objective in mind, responsible political and educational personnel implemented measures designed to upgrade the teacher-training program. Consequently, manual training, physical training, music, art, and nature study were given a more prominent place in the training schedule. Furthermore, a Summer School for teachers was authorized in the spring of 1913, and, in the summer of the same year, the first session was held at the University of Alberta.

The aim of the summer session was the professional development of teachers in specific lines—for example, special attention was given to agriculture and school gardening. The importance attributed to these two subjects and the degree to which their significance was recognized was evident, on the first count, by the fact that the principals of the three provincial agricultural colleges were appointed as instructors, and, on the second count, by the number of students who received credit in these courses during the period recorded.

Also aimed at improving the quality of instruction in Alberta's public schools were the addresses and demonstration classes that were presented at the various teachers' conventions. Some examples of such activity are cited in the following passage:

> During the fall, members of the [normal school] staff assisted at various teachers' conventions. Miss Dickie gave an address on Literature and taught two type lessons at Vegreville; Miss Burnett spoke on 'Play' and 'Primary Literature' at Stettler; Mr. Tuck presented the subject of 'Nature Study' at Wetaskiwin; and the Principal gave three addresses at Chinook, one on 'Present Day Tendencies in Arithmetic,' one on 'Measuring and Efficiency of the Teacher,' and one on 'Russia.'
>
> (*Annual Report of the Department of Education*, 1918, p. 30)

These illustrations are indicative of some of the measures that were advocated or initiated by various individuals and/or institutions in the attempt to resolve the problems that were perceived as inherent in the educational program of that time—particularly in the rural regions. Nor were these efforts focused solely upon the practicing teachers. Resolution to promote improvement was also manifested at higher levels of the educational structure. For instance, in 1918 the Ministers of Education from the three prairie provinces and British Columbia appointed a committee to convene and report on problems dealing with courses of study, the uniformity of text books, and the training of teachers. This committee met in March and satisfactory progress was made on all topics discussed.

The impact that the foregoing factors had upon the educational system of the period is difficult to assess. What is evident, though, is that certain specific ideas—viz., that poor teacher training and rigid curricula were the underlying causes of low achievement and low high school enrollments—led to minor but effective modifications in the educational structure. Two examples of such changes were: (1) the introduction of summer school sessions, and (2) the offering of special courses for city teachers in Singing, Art, and Manual Training.

Effective as were 'ideas' in bringing about educational change, intellectual factors alone did not account for the evolution that occurred in educational theory and practice during the 1912 to 1918 period. Other forces—the economic and social, for example—also played key roles in effecting change in education. The influence of the economic and social forces was particularly evident in the field of technical and vocational education. Some elaboration of this theme follows.

As was pointed out in an earlier chapter, Alberta experienced a period of general prosperity during the period in question. Practically all sectors of the economy witnessed increased productivity with agriculture retaining its pride-of-place among all of the industries. Manufacturing enterprises also experienced substantial expansion. To illustrate, between 1910 and 1918 there was a fourfold increase in the value of production by the latter. This growth, along with anticipated plans for continued development, created a strong demand for a skilled labor force. Hence, the need for a comprehensive Technical Education program was evident. In fact, as early as 1910 the Minister recommended that authority be granted for the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the needs of the Dominion regarding industrial training and technical education. In March of the same year, a Commission was appointed to execute the duties outlined by the Minister.

Three years later, the Commission published its report in Sessional Paper No. 191d. Sections relevant to elementary education included recommendations for the expansion and improvement of technical education. Acting on these recommendations, the Technical Branch of the Department made considerable progress in this field. By the end of 1914, the following (and other) developments were realized:

> 1. Instruction in Manual Training, woodwork and mechanical drawing was provided for, as optional subjects, in the program of study for public schools.
> 2. Instruction in household arts . . . was provided for in the course of study for the public school. . . .
> 4. The course of study for grade VII and VIII of the public school called for instruction in elementary science, agriculture, and gardening.
>
> (*Annual Report of the Department of Education*, 1914, pp. 45-46)

The assignment of greater importance to technical education and manual instruction, which followed the report of the Royal Commission, initiated a trend that continued in the years that followed. Further, this trend carried with it subsidiary developments—namely, the establishment of prevocational institutions. Yet despite the evolutionary character of the provincial school program up to 1918, the curriculum established in 1912 featured, according to many educational authorities, too many archaic vestiges. The time, then, was conducive to change. And change was accomplished in the year which marked the end of World War I.

The Revision of 1918

The 1918 Course of Studies for elementary schools was prepared by a committee of educationalists. This program was tested in the classroom and its merits and defects were discussed with teachers before it was officially adopted by the Department of Education. An important feature of the revision was that it indicated, more definitely than previous curricula, those parts of the course that required particular attention. As J. T. Ross, Deputy Minister of Education, stated:

> The teacher should follow the outline of the Course of Studies consistently . . . but should give each pupil a thorough training in Reading, Writing, Spelling, Oral and Written Composition, and Arithmetic, as these subjects form the basis for future progress in education.
>
> (Ross, 1918, Introductory Note)

The significance attached to these subjects was underscored by the fact that they represented the major proportion of the Examination Subjects. This is indicated by the grid as shown in Table 20.

Table 20

Course of Studies—1918 †

	GRADE							
Subjects	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
*Arithmetic	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Reading	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
*Literature	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
*Spelling	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
*Grammar				X	X	X	X	X
*Composition	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
*Writing	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
*History and Civics	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
*Nature Study	X	X	X	X	X	X	Agric.	Agric.
Geometry								X
*Art	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Manual & Household Arts	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Physical Training	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Hygiene	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Music	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

* Examination Subject

An examination of this grid and its 1912 counterpart shows that the two programs were identical. Nor was the content altered significantly. Since there was no notable quantitative or substantive difference between the 1918 program and its predecessor, it was evident that the latest revision was not a radical one. However, it did differ from preceding revisions in a very important detail—namely, the attention paid to psychological considerations. In fact, these considerations were theoretical guidelines for the program developers. Evidence of this is found in the second paragraph of the "Introductory Note" of the 1918 curriculum. The comprehensiveness of the principle expounded and its potential possibilities merit its presentation. Expressed by J. T. Ross, it reads as follows:

> While the whole course is, for convenience, divided into eight grades, care should be taken to avoid a slavish adherence to the principle that a year should be devoted

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†(Ross, 1918)

> to the work of each grade, as such a treatment of the programme will frequently be found to work a distinct injustice to the pupils. The skillful teacher will never lose sight of the fact that, while it may be necessary to adapt this outline to the ability and power of the pupil, the progress of the pupil should never be determined by the scope of the work herein assigned for each school year.
>
> (Ross, 1918, Introductory Note)

The preceding statement stressed, in general terms, the importance of taking individual differences into account—differences which entailed differential physio-psychological development, interests, and needs. Nor did the concerns expressed or implied in this statement remain at a purely theoretical level. Rather an effort was made to translate them into concrete programs. In this attempt, the educators met with qualified success as the adopted innovations marked another shift, however slight, from the once highly-formalized, rigid teacher-centered and subject-oriented educational approach toward a child-centered philosophy of education.

Analysis of the 1918 Revision

Basically, the 1918 revision was an attempt to structure learning experiences in accord with contemporary psychological principles. Chief among those who agitated for the incorporation of such considerations into the curriculum were the school inspectors. Their qualified success in this venture underscores the importance of leadership that mobilizes participants for action in bringing about social change. This point is noted because the school inspectors were not, as a rule, the originators of the ideas they attempted to implement. Rather, their efforts followed certain events that occurred and concerns that were expressed, in international educational circles, toward the close of the nineteenth century and in the years that followed. Some examples of these 'concerns' and 'events' are indicated in the following passage.

> In 1888 President Eliot of Harvard addressed a meeting of leading school superintendents on the topic "Can School Programmes be Shortened and Enriched?" Four years later he addressed the superintendents again . . . Following this address, the Committee of Ten was appointed . . . to determine the limits of each high-school subject, the best methods of instruction in each, the most desirable allotment of time in each, and the best methods of testing pupils' attainments. The following year the Committee of Fifteen was appointed to make recommendations to improve the efficiency of the elementary schools. The appointment of other committees followed in what is now known as the school efficiency movement.
>
> The scientific movement in education, especially the development of achievement testing, was strongly stimulated by J. M. Rice. . . . Interested in discovering the

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> minimum time required for effective teaching in spelling, arithmetic, and language. . . . Rice built tests in these subjects and administered them to thousands of children.
>
> The school adjustment movement had its origins in the studies of retardation by Thorndike and Ayres in the first years of the century.
>
> (Stoner, 1972, pp. 1-2)

Complementing the influences that the foregoing developments had on the 'thinking' and behavior of the provincial inspectors were the conference proceedings and publications of academic associations such as the National Education Association. Notice, for instance, the parallel between the preliminary remarks to the 1918 course outline quoted on page 161 of this chapter and the following excerpt taken from the 1914/15 Journal of the National Education Association.

> The assignment for the term consists of lessons ranging from very simple examples . . . to the longest examples that the child in the grade is likely to be called on to solve. There are 48 lessons . . . and they are so arranged that it is possible for each child to progress at his own rate in his own way.
>
> (Curtis, 1914-15, p. 193)

Or regarding correlation, note the similarity of the statement on page 52 of the 1918 Course Outline, which recognizes interdisciplinary interdependence, to the details enunciated in another section of the journal cited above.

> If we take food and clothing, they will suggest our geography, the sources of our foods and the materials of our clothing, and the conditions of their production, manufacture, and transportation. Out of our conditions of manufacture and transportation will grow the economic and social problems and the relation of those problems to definite conditions.
>
> (Green, 1914-15, p. 105)

In reviewing the above, it is obvious that though the changes were not radical and though innovative features were not reflected in the entire curriculum, some needed changes were introduced in the 1918 Revision.

Political, Economic, and Sociocultural Factors—Their Implications for Separate Schools, 1912-1918

The Northwest Territories Ordinance of 1892, which abolished the two previous Boards of Education (the Protestant and the Catholic) in favour of a unified Council of Public Instruction, had significant ramifications for separate schools. From that time, as has already been noted, all schools were controlled by the government and all schools had to follow the same curriculum. Consequently, any subsequent changes in programs, methodology, or pedagogy initiated by the Council of Instruction (and later by the Department of Education) had the same impact on the public and separate schools. So the changes that were introduced by the 1918 Revision did not alter the status of the separate schools. And since the rights of the latter, as noted earlier, were guaranteed by the British North America Act and reaffirmed by pursuant Territorial and provincial legislation, the religious dimension of these schools and their right to establish new districts remained unaffected by the Revision of 1918.

Though assured of these rights and though the period from 1912 to 1918 was generally a period of demographic and economic expansion, the separate schools witnessed only insignificant growth. By contrast, the public school system grew rapidly. For example, the number of public school districts erected in the years 1913 to 1918 inclusive totalled 217, 122, 120, 120, 137, and 133. During the same period the number of Roman Catholic separate school districts erected totalled one in 1914 and one in 1917 (*Annual Report of the Department of Education*, 1913–18). Nor would the inclusion of the thirteen mission schools in northern Alberta supported by the provincial government alter the disproportionate ratio of public to separate schools. Since Roman Catholics represented approximately 16% of the population during this period, one may wonder about the disproportion. However, whatever interpretation may be derived from the statistics, the fact remains that the small representation of educational centers did not reflect lack of faith or commitment. Evidently other reasons accounted for the absence of more separate schools.

Principal among these is that where there was a Catholic majority—e.g., St. Albert and Morinville—the schools were legally defined as public institutions. In areas where the Catholic minority was large enough to support an educational program (e.g., Calgary, Edmonton, Macleod, Lethbridge, Wetaskiwin, Vegreville, Red Deer, and Pincher Creek), schools were established and maintained. Also to be considered in this context is that the remaining Catholic population in the legally defined districts was too small to support a separate school. Yet despite such obstacles the Catholic community has retained its spiritual commitments.

Political, Economic, and Sociocultural Factors—Their Implications for Education, 1918–1936

The impact of unfavorable economic, political, and social circumstances was sufficient to interest farm organizations in activities designed to bring redress to the existent grievances. These rural organizations were viewed by many as a means by which the attractiveness of farm life could be restored. Further, it was believed that,

> Survival, even success, in farming were within reach if these organizations functioned according to plan . . . [In addition] . . . an interest in and commitment to the education of all members, and the public at large, was evident.
> (Wilson, 1975, p. 36)

So central were educational objectives to the agrarian movement, that they drew the attention of scholars and journalists who were primarily interested in their political actions. H. S. Patton, author of the *Grain Growers' Co–operation in Western Canada*, noted the following about the rural associations:

> The functions of the associations, organized on an occupational basis, were essentially protective and educational, aiming at the securing of the legislation regarded as in the interests of grain growers, the promotion of co-operative enterprises, and the development of community life.
> (Patton, 1928, p. 379)

Evident from the above is that the meaning attached to education was broader than that implied by formal instruction. Yet the farm leaders also paid considerable attention to the improvement of schooling. That this concern prevailed among top–ranking officials was evidenced by the fact that the United Farmers Association government (shortly after gaining power) implemented a new elementary curriculum that was initiated by the former Liberal administration.

Implemented in 1922, this revision did not bring about any major educational change. However, it would be a mistake to restrict assessment of the party's contributions to education on the "merits" of this revision for, as mentioned previously, the educational pursuits of the United Farmers of Alberta were much broader than could be inferred from an approved curriculum. In fact, the degree and quality of the work in education carried on by the United Farmers Association was quite impressive.

One of its notable accomplishments in this area was the establishment of an Educational Department. This department consisted of an Educational Secretary and the staff of the bimonthly journal, *The United Farmers Association.* Under N. W. Smith's guidance as secretary, the magazine had strong appeal and was widely read throughout the province. In its pages were inspirational messages by leaders of the movement, surveys of events, and items that appealed to a broad cross section of the farm population.

Besides publishing the farmers' official magazine, the Education Committee delivered yearly statements at the *Annual Convention.* In these statements the Committee set forth its recommendations for resolutions to be adopted by the movement. One problem consistently mentioned after World War I concerned rural schooling. This occurred because increasing numbers of individuals realized that the malfunctioning one-room schools across the prairies were depriving many youths of an opportunity to participate in the country's future.

Nor were members of the Education Committee alone in expressing concern about this situation. Most notable of all others who showed interest in the above problem was Perrin Baker, Minister of Education (1921-1935). Though he did not advocate the need for a unique rural education, Baker came to the education portfolio cognizant of the deficiencies of rural schooling:

> Just how deficient it was, I was to realize only after a study of the statistics of the Department. These revealed the sad fact thet hundreds of schools were operating far less than the minimum 160 days and a great many children were reaching the age of fifteen and quitting school without finishing Grade VIII.
>
> (Letter by P. Baker, 1928)

To cope with this situation, Mr. Baker attempted to actualize the slogan of his administration—Grade VIII for every Alberta pupil. Unfortunately, his efforts to attain this goal were thwarted the moment he came up against the province's financial realities.

These realities, however, directed Baker's attention to the problem of rural school administration. It is to his credit that he recognized that the small school district, as an administrative unit, was not suited to the geographic and economic conditions in Western Canada and that he set out to change this system. A related problem was that rural conditions were not conducive to attracting or retaining good teachers. Only through school district reorganization, Baker maintained, could education in Alberta be improved. He then set forth his proposals for the larger unit (ca. 150 school districts would make up one division) which would constitute the general taxing area. The divisional boards, consisting of five elected members, would be responsible for engaging, supervising, and paying their teachers. Supervision of the teachers would be done by a superintendent hired by the Department of Education.

In 1927 the minister brought his proposals before the legislature. So strong was the opposition to this bill that Baker withdrew it before the third reading. Similar reaction ensued when he proposed a revised version to the House in 1930. Again, Baker found it necessary to withdraw the bill before it entered committee and third reading. And so his major effort to improve rural education was nullified.

Nor did the Education Committee fare any better in its attempt to resolve the deficiencies of the rural schools and the related problem of educational opportunity. Time and time again, its recommendations to have fees lowered for examinations and correspondence courses were ignored. Further, the Committee was unsuccessful in its attempt to introduce a high school curriculum that would have enabled more youth to receive a diploma. Eventually, many of these changes were realized, although the farmers' own government was no more willing to implement radical changes in education than was its predecessor.

The changes in the educational system which were ultimately implemented, however, came after the culmination of certain political, economic, social, and intellectual trends. Principal among the social forces that were effective in prompting a reassessment of education in the province was the intellectual factor—that is, the issues articulated by the educational leaders. In this case, these were the views of the school inspectors whose evaluations of instruction in the provincial schools were published in the annual reports of the Department of Education.

Excerpts from these reports reveal the general quality of instruction throughout the province. The following inspectoral comments are representative:

> 1924
> In History few of the teachers are sufficiently versed in the material required to secure the best results.
> (*Annual Report of the Department of Education*, 1924, p. 64)
>
> 1929
> Silent reading, history, geography, elementary science, health education . . . are more or less either neglected or made to assume a very subordinate position.
> (*Annual Report of the Department of Education*, 1929, p. 50)
>
> 1933
> I find too many teachers trying to teach successfully without adequate mastery of lesson material; too many simply 'take up' with the class text-book material.
> (*Annual Report of the Department of Education*, 1933, p. 45)

The above and other excerpts cited from the elementary school inspectors' reports, after implementation of the 1922 curriculum, indicate a general trend toward the conclusions stated in the 1935 Department of Education summary. A relevant section of this summary is presented below.

> Social Studies—(History, Civics, Geography, Hygiene): An improvement has taken place in the methods of teaching Social Studies, but the instruction still continues to be too much a presentation by memorizing. Not enough effort is made to secure the appropriate correlation and integration of these studies nor to assist the learning process by a sufficient use of mechanical and visual aids. The teachers' methods, on the whole, are too formalized.
>
> (*Annual Report of the Department of Education*, 1935, p. 60)

Nor were the inspectors' concerns about the curriculum—one that failed to promote the correlation and integration of related subjects—the only cause of discontent. Equally distressing were the untrained or "permit" teachers who had to be employed in considerable numbers because of the social dislocation that occurred during and after World War I. Thus, it was with optimistic expectations for the future that J. T. Ross, Deputy Minister of Education, announced in the annual departmental report for 1919 that,

> September 1st was the date on which one of the milestones in educational progress was reached by the extension of the normal school course for the training of teachers from four to eight months.
>
> (*Annual Report of the Department of Education*, 1919, p. 9)

Expressed dissatisfaction with the education system and demands for change came from quarters other than those already discussed. The Alberta Teachers' Alliance, for example, was among the vanguard of the educational critics. Through its official organ, *The Alberta Teachers' Association Magazine*, the Alliance made public the association's objectives and its sentiments about a wide range of educational issues. These included reconstructionist ideals, rural education, district boundaries, and progressivist philosophy.

Nor did the criticisms and disapproval come just from provincial organizations or individual Albertans. Alberta's educational program, along with those that prevailed in other provinces, received severe criticism from abroad. Dr. William Boyd, Head of the Department of Education at Glasgow University, investigated the Canadian school system and reported that it was not practical, but was based on a German theoretical system that had been discarded in Europe seventy-five years before. Even more caustic were the criticisms of Dr. Walter Pitkin, member of the Department of Philosophy and Professor of Journalism in Columbia University. In his book, *More Power to You*, Pitkin stated:

> The educational system of North America must change. It must teach man to adapt himself to his environment. The supreme tragedy of North American education springs from the lamentable failure of our school teachers to drill pupils in genuine, well planned versatility.
>
> (Pitkin, October 27, 1934)

Such widespread reaction stimulated government action. In the 1934 session of the Alberta legislature, for example, Dr. Atkinson, a Liberal MLA, stated that the work of the Committee on State Medicine had contributed to health consciousness in the province. This prompted the Premier, Mr. Brownlee, to suggest that a Committee on Rural Education might accomplish similar ends. The suggestion was favorably received and a committee was appointed. By the time the report was completed the United Farmers Association government was defeated. However, its completion can be credited to men such as United Farmers Association backbenchers Isidore Goresky, Chester Ronning, and C. L. Gibbs, who were active in the work of this committee.

Among the recommendations received by the Committee were suggestions for school reform in the area of school curriculum. At the forefront of those demanding change was Dr. D. Dickie. Sensitive to the problems of rural schooling, Dr. Dickie advocated arranging these schools into three divisions: Division I (grades 1, 2, and 3), Division II (grades 4, 5, and 6), and Division III (grades 7, 8, and 9). In these different groups the skills would be taught at the level of the pupils' needs. The other subjects would form an integrated program. In each division the different grades would participate at appropriate levels of achievement.

In response to this proposal H. C. Newland, the Chief Superintendent of Schools, appointed a committee to investigate the problems and to present an outline of possible reorganization. After intensive consultation, the committee developed a general scheme. An integral part of this scheme included arrangements to prepare teachers for the envisioned program. So in 1933 seventy-five classroom instructors were chosen from urban and rural areas to attend the Summer School of the Department of Education to experiment with the new procedures. The following summer 1,000 more enrolled for the course in Enterprise Education. By 1935 the new program was well developed and the new ideas were given strength by the newly-elected Social Credit Party.

This does not mean that Aberhart or other members of the party were instrumental in the development of the pending revision or the changes that were proposed for reorganizing the administrative units. In fact both the practical and theoretical dimensions of the pending changes were foreign to Aberhart's philosophy of education and unfamiliar to or unpopular with other Social Credit 'teacher legislators.' In time, however, the increase in the number of schools in operation (shown in Table 21) exacerbated the problems of financing and providing adequate teachers and facilities. And as the economic situation in Alberta continued to deteriorate, these men and the Party endorsed new ideas—large administrative units, teacher status legislation, and curriculum changes—and established the conditions which made the acceptance and implementation of these ideas possible.

Table 21

Summary of School Statistics 1918-1936 *

Year	*No. of School Districts in Existence*	*Pupils Enrolled*	*Teachers Employed*	*Total Grants Paid to Schools*
1918	2,964	111,029	5,652	625,829.54
1919	3,106	121,567	4,902	713,032.92
1920	3,215	135,750	5,014	885,523.94
1921-22	3,367	142,802	5,787	1,146,721.95
1922-23	3,388	148,045	5,669	1,241,518.32
1923-24	3,409	147,373	5,727	1,117,023.20
1924-25	3,431	147,796	4,864	1.054,732.93
1925-26	3,463	150,526	5,135	1,084,878.75
1926-27	3,515	154,380	5,380	1,137,637.58
1927-28	3,571	159,086	5,815	1,218,572.62
1928-29	3,640	164,850	5,827	1,321,158.03
1929-30	3,720	168,076	5,705	1,355,962.95
1930-31	3,755	168,730	5,844	1,593,995.15
1931-32	3,788	170,795	5,760	1,511,776.29
1932-33	3,734	171,445	6,050	1,675,229.46
1933-34	3,766	172,030	5,912	1,587,798.87
1934-35	3,812	167,954	5,911	1,444,704.57
1935-36	3,859	167,193	6,001	1,432,084.66

The Revision of 1936

As has already been mentioned, throughout the twenties and early thirties, demands for a new educational program in the schools of the province tended to come from individuals or non–political organizations. In fact, it was not until 1934 that a general, official policy for the reform of the Alberta Curriculum—particularly the elementary curriculum—and the organizational structure of the school began to take shape. Instrumental in defining the parameters of the changes that were eventually implemented was the Committee on Rural Education referred to earlier. After two years of deliberation and experimentation, the Committee's basic recommendations were implemented during the 1936–37 school year. As of September 1936, the twelve grades in the province were grouped in the following manner: (a) The Elementary School (grades I–VI); (b) The Intermediate School (grades VII–IX); (c) The High School (grades X–XII). This 6–3–3 pattern replaced the former 8–4 plan. Further, the six grades of the elementary school were divided into two divisions. Grades I, II, and III were to constitute Division I, while Division II was to include Grades IV, V, and VI. In line with this scheme was a changed conception of the term grade—particularly in areas outside urban centers.

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* *(Annual Report of the Department of Education*, 1918-1936)

> In the rural schools, the grades will no longer serve as the basis of promotion, but merely as levels of attainment within each division. In this way a pupil's grade status may differ for different 'subjects.'
>
> (Newland, 1936, p. 96)

The intention of the above was to facilitate the implementation of an evaluative system whereby the pupil's progress was to be measured in terms of mastery and attainment, and not by length of time spent in school.

Pedagogical Implications of the Revised Program

Regarding the curriculum, the Department of Education claimed that it was to be an activity program adapted to the particular needs of Alberta schools. In developing the program, the revision committee attempted to operationalize the coming educational principles of the foremost educators of the time—for example, J. Dewey, W. H. Kilpatrick, H. Rugg, and A. Shumaker. Some of these principles are listed below:

> 1. Learning is not something that a child gets, but something he does.
> 2. The school programme must respond meaningfully and purposefully to the child's call for things to do. . . . The 'things to do' must, therefore, reside in the experience of the child; they must be worthwhile in the eyes of the child.
> 3. The natural way of learning used by children in their play life may be adopted by the school.
> 4. It is both feasible and desirable to correlate many different learning units, and to consolidate them in social studies.
>
> (Newland, 1936, pp. 96–97)

The foregoing principles posed an interesting challenge—namely, how was instructional content of the program to be designated? Early in the planning stages this problem was resolved by incorporating the content into "subjects" or "enterprises." The "subjects" included reading, arithmetic, literature, speech training, choral speech, language, writing, spelling, elementary science, health, social studies, physical education, art, and music. The "enterprises," which were not compulsory at this stage, were to draw materials from all subjects of the program, though primarily from the social studies field. Hence, such subjects as oral language, citizenship, health, geography, music, art, and craftwork would be integrated and taught by the enterprise method.

The New Program of Studies

As noted above, the nature of the program was such that it was possible for the teacher to use the enterprise procedure or to formally present the material as detailed in the outlines. In practice, however, the Department advised the teachers not to follow exclusively either one of the pedagogical procedures. Despite the caution against adopting a singular procedure, the Department, in its Social Studies outline, overtly favored enterprise activities.

Also apparent in the course outline was that the main theme of the social studies in Division II was to be the "community idea." The children, via the problem approach, were expected to strengthen their understanding of an ever-widening scope of factors. Their concepts were to extend, progressively, from themselves to the family, the community, province, nation, world, to facilitate an understanding of their place in the intricate pattern and an understanding of human relations.

This approach—the "community idea" concept—was described by the Department of Education as a plan for fusing history and geography. To realize this end, the course in the first grade of the elementary level was designed to take the pupils on imaginary journeys to other parts of the world so that they could experience vicarious contact with the early peoples in indigenous lands and with primitive people in other parts of the world. Two studies of modern life were also studied. All told, seven studies were developed for the history-geography course. These were the Canadian nomad communities, a jungle community, an island community, a village community, a mountain community, and a progressive community. In Grade V a parallel course sought to acquaint the child with the world in which he lived through a study of the development of frontier communities. This main topic was subdivided into the following studies: the world we live in, the continent we live on, the explorers of the great west, pioneers of Western Canada, modern explorers, and our home community in Alberta. And in Grade VI, the scope of the social studies included early English community growth, early colonial communities, modern Canadian communities, and modern English growth. For each of these studies the official program included a detailed plan in terms of concepts to be learned, suggested enterprises, and topics for reports.

In addition to instructional details, general guidelines for presenting the material were included in the revised program in the form of aims. For Division II, these were: (1) To direct children in experiencing a realistic understanding and appreciation of human relations; and (2) To permit children to participate in improving human relations (Newland, 1936, pp. 96–97). Simultaneously, attitudes of scientific inquiry, critical-mindedness, tolerance, responsibility, appreciation, creative self-expression, self-cultivation were to be developed in working out the problems in Division II.

To achieve the goals of the elementary social studies program—aims, attitudes, and abilities—the teachers, to reiterate a point made earlier, were well advised to adopt the enterprise procedure. But as can be seen from the subjects enumerated in the reprint of the 1936 program of studies shown in Table 22, the use of the enterprise approach was not compulsory at this time.

Table 22
Course of Studies
(Summarized from 1936 Programme of Studies)

	Grade						
Subjects	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Page
Reading	X	X	X	X	X	X	7
Literature	X	X	X	X	X	X	3
Speech Training	X	X	X	X	X	X	43
Language and Spelling	X	X	X	X	X	X	59
Writing	X	X	X	X	X	X	72
Arithmetic	X	X	X	X	X	X	83
Social Studies (No outline for Division I)				X	X	X	109
Elementary Science & Health Education	X	X	X	X	X	X	144
Physical Education	X	X	X	X	X	X	184
Art	X	X	X	X	X	X	195
Music	X	X	X	X	X	X	223

Analysis of the 1936 Curriculum

As noted earlier, the activity or enterprise program was recognized as the provincial curriculum in 1936. The acceptance of this program, however, was seriously hindered by widespread misconceptions about its underlying philosophical, sociological, and psychological implications. It is in this sphere that the Department of Education could have played a vital role—that is, it could have promoted a smooth transition from the "traditional" to the "new curriculum" through extensive educational schemes and by practicing some moderation in introducing innovations. Instead, it aroused general dissatisfaction and reaction by trying to implement an overly ambitious educational program. In one year the Department introduced, among other changes, the enterprise procedure, divisions to replace grades, the elective system in Division III, and attempted to force teachers with second-class certificates to upgrade their qualifications. Much confusion and resentment resulted and the activity program received its share of criticism.

Political, Economic, and Sociocultural Factors—Their Implications for Separate Schools, 1918-1936

As was the case during the 1912–1918 period, and probably for the same reasons, the number of separate school districts established between 1918 and 1936 was negligible relative to the numerical increase of public school districts—seven compared to 875. This growth was all the more insignificant in that the 1918 Revision did not threaten the rights or opportunities of minorities to establish separate schools nor threaten to undermine their objectives. Such was not the case in the 1936 Revision. Certain aspects of this revision did precipitate apprehension about Catholic educational rights and educational objectives. This is not to say that all Catholic educators rejected, *carte blanche*, the newly-introduced progressive education. In fact, many of them saw in progressive education valuable methodological innovations worthy of application in parochial schools. But at the same time, there were those who recognized that the 'modern education' was a challenge to the traditional view of the Roman Catholic Church. The recognition of this challenge was apparent in the most significant general statement of the twentieth century of the Catholic educational position—the Encyclical of Pope Pius XI, on *The Christian Education of Youth,* presented at Rome December 31, 1929. Criticisms of progressive education fell within the general context of this encyclical. A brief review of these criticisms follow.

Neo-Thomistic Criticisms

First to be singled out for criticism was the progressivists' commitment to the principle of "drawing out" human nature. Such education, according to the Pope, was inadequate because it failed to direct attention to God and to the task of preparing man for his sublime destiny: "there can be no ideally perfect education which is not Christian education" (Pope Pius XI, 1929, p. 39). And such education, the Pope maintained, belonged primarily to the Church according to the title conferred on her by God. This did not mean that the rights of parents and the State were to be excluded. Rather, the Pope envisaged a division of function according to what is distinctly human and what is divine. Such division of responsibility, he claimed, would facilitate harmonious cooperation analogous to that manifested in the unity of body and soul.

For the educative process which would expedite the realization of the above objective, Pius XI established, as a Catholic principle, the falsity of "every form of naturalism which in any way . . . weakened supernatural Christian formation in the teaching of the youth" (Pope Pius XI, 1929, p. 54). In developing this principle, the Pope had in mind rejection of the concept of original sin, demands for child freedom and self-government, and the encouragement of activity that had no connection with divine law. As is evident, Rousseauist elements of progressive education were condemned. The Pope admitted the value of cooperative education, but held that this was a traditional tenet and the responsibility of the Church, not something new.

Other modern precepts and practices were also condemned. Principal among these were: (a) naturalistic sex education; and (b) coeducation. In each case, it was believed that a denial of original sin was involved, "and this was sufficient reason to condemn the practices out of hand" (Skilbeck, 1958, p. 113). Other points of disagreement between the Encyclical and progressive education were:

1. That education should primarily be religious, not secular in character,
2. That the content of the curriculum should be determined according to the canons of tradition.

All of these issues impinge upon the tenets expounded in the Encyclical. Therefore, any compatibility that could be found between progressive education and Catholicism would tend to be superficial rather than basic.

Ironically, few Catholic educators had a profound understanding of the basic conflict that existed between Catholicism and the progressive ideology. Those that did recognize the irreconcilability of the two belief systems condemned progressivism with "fiery breath"; and though such reaction generated, for the major part, more heat than light, some rational criticisms did emerge.

Foremost among these was the charge that modern education abandoned the principle of authority and elevated in its place the wishes or, to put it more bluntly, the passions of the student. On the other hand, was Catholic education which "has always aimed at transforming its pupils into other Christs" (Cain, 1921, p. 444).

Nor were the objections cited in the foregoing excerpt left at the level of a series of accusations. Cain, for example, elaborated his case in four precise propositions:

> 1. Development cannot provide for education as a whole, which at its highest level must be religious.
> 2. Even on the physical level, developmental education is an affront to "common sense."
> 3. Education does not prepare students for real life when it promotes self-activity.
> 4. None of the serious proponents of developmental education have taken it seriously.
>
> (Cain, 1921, p. 445)

As generalizations, none of these propositions were valid. There were advocates of progressivism who affirmed the efficacy of the activity program in realizing religious ends, and many found that their "common sense" was not offended by the project method. Further, it was generally recognized that real life did require self-directed activity, and at least some of the experimental schools were "genuinely serious." In light of the above, and particularly the fourth proposition, it would seem that "Cain's principal purpose was more to advance the Catholic cause than to take a serious view of modern education" (Skilbeck, 1958, p. 118).

Other Catholic commentators, though no less virulent than Cain in their condemnation of progressivism, moved away from Thomistic pinnacles to the concrete levels of Dewey's transgressions. Principal among these spokesmen was the Reverend James O'Hara. Regarding the alleged break with tradition and authority, O'Hara maintained that:

> The complete rupture with tradition, so characteristic of Mr. Dewey's ideal of life, finds its counterpart in his ideal of education.
>
> (O'Hara, 1929, p. 42)

And

> In the new schools there is no logical, made-in-advance course of studies. This follows from the subserving of the needs and opportunities of children.
>
> (O'Hara, 1929, p. 50)

The second Catholic criticism, namely, that modern education effected a departure from the traditions of curriculum-making and educational method, was a corollary of the first proposition—that modern education had abandoned the principle of authority in favor of student wishes. To such critics, educational authority assumed a concrete form in an established curriculum and in authoritarian, disciplinary methods were designed to acquaint the student with the content of the curriculum. That the nature of the relationship—that is, between authority and curriculum—was unequivocal, was vociferously reaffirmed by a number of noted spokesmen. O'Hara, for example, maintained that:

> The very nature of the school demands that the teacher assume and execute his indispensable role of interpreting for his pupils in terms of fundamentals the meaning of the experiences which they undergo. . . . To wait upon the expression of the child's interests and needs for goals of activity is to neglect the approved values of race experience.
>
> (O'Hara, 1929, p. 84)

Similar charges were also expressed by Joseph McKee. His objections to the "new" curriculum were based on the claim that the doctrine of interest and "the attempt to accomplish too much were . . . responsible for mere dabbling and a superficial coverage of much extraneous material" (Skilbeck, 1958, p. 130).

Yet another Thomistic criticism of progressivism was that modern secular education denied spiritual values by focusing on the relationship of the child to society. And though social adaptation and social efficiency were recognized as legitimate needs, Catholic educators such as W. L. Lawlor, for example, insisted that these did not constitute the chief ends of education. Intellectual development and social adjustment, though important, were not, in their view, the principal aim of education. Rather, in terms of a hierarchy of educational objectives, Neo-Thomists placed at the top of the scale those experiences that prepared the child's soul for immortal life. Needless to say, such an ideal was not congenial to Dewey's advocacy of an ongoing experimental process. This fundamental difference between the Deweyan and Catholic position (Dewey's relativism and emphasis on process versus Catholicism's affirmation of permanency and absolute goals) was summarized by O'Hara:

> It is our insistence upon the permanent elements in life rather than the changing elements that causes us to differ with Mr. Dewey. Like him, we would encourage people to think. . . . We maintain, however, that sound thinking needs the permanent and abiding principles of the intellectual order and fixed goals in the moral order.
>
> (O'Hara, 1929, pp. 68-69)

Roman Catholic Concerns and Reactions in Alberta

Though the lay Roman Catholics were probably unacquainted with Neo–Thomistic criticisms of progressive education, they, as previously mentioned, did express concern about the potential loss of rights under the provisions of the new School Act. Changes in boundaries of jurisdiction would certainly affect their interests, as they had learned earlier in Saskatchewan. A delegation led by Monsignor Leo Nellegan, Vicar General of the Archdiocese of Edmonton, and Lucien Maynard (Social Credit MLA, Beaver River and deputy speaker) representing the Separate School Board, met with Aberhart for two hours. The proposed draft, they told him "did not contain all the provisions which had been expected on the preservation of the rights of separate schools in rural districts" (*Western Catholic*, February 26, 1936, p. 1). The premier assured them that full protection to the Roman Catholic and French minorities under the provisions of the British North America Act would be preserved under the new School Act. Mr. Aberhart made the same assurances during the debates in the House.

Apparently, these assurances and the progressivists' vision that the new education would facilitate social reconstruction convinced at least some influential Catholics that the proposed reforms would be universally beneficial. For example, at his first opportunity to refer to the situation, the editor of the *Western Catholic* reminded Aberhart that he would go the way of all politicians who promise and do not deliver, if he did not institute the scheme. Meanwhile the editor called on readers to give Aberhart a fair chance and to apply only constructive criticism "unimpaired by any party bias and prompted solely by solicitude for the welfare of the province and its people" (*Western Catholic*, February 12, 1936, p. 6). At the same time the editor, true to Catholic principles, cautioned his readers not to seek solutions to social

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ills anywhere but in the teachings of Christ. Without condemning progressive education, he pointed out its limitations.

> Progressive education, professedly a panacea, has no solution to offer. The home, morality and religion are what have been called the "constants" of civilization. They offer no field for experimentation. The school furthers social progress only by imparting to the young a deep appreciation of those constants. If the individual is to be reformed it can only be by adherence to absolute moral standards. . . . We can achieve the social formation of youth only by imbuing them with social ideas, developing in them social attitudes or sentiments, and eliciting from them social acts. These ideas, sentiments and acts are derived from the moral teaching of Christ. . . . This moral law . . . must be wisely accepted and lived before it can produce any notable effects on our social life.
>
> (*Western Catholic*, September 16, 1936, p. 6)

The separate schools, of course, had no choice but to comply with the changes initiated by the newly elected government. And when school opened in September of 1936, the *Western Catholic* used this occasion to remind its readers that even though Catholics would be using the same curriculum as the public schools, they should continue to support Catholic education as one which had not abandoned its spiritual ideas for the materialistic objectives of secular institutions (*Western Catholic*, September 1, 1936, p. 6). As subsequent chapters will illustrate, separate school supporters consistently experienced a "test of faith" in the decades that followed the 1936 reforms.

CHAPTER VII

ALBERTA—1936–1957

Political Developments

On election day in August, 1935 approximately 302,000 voters cast their ballots. The results of this record-setting turnout are shown in Table 23:

Table 23

Parties	*Votes*	*Seats*
UFA	33,063	0
Liberal	69,845	5
Conservative	19,358	2
Independent	4,177	0
Labor	5,986	0
Social Credit	163,700	56
Communist	5,771	0
Other	752	0
Totals	301,752	63

Response to the Social Credit landslide victory was both universal and polarized. From London, Major Douglas said, "Congratulations. There will be others but only one first" (Johnson & MacNutt, 1970, p. 139). Equally laudatory was the message cabled by the Dean of Canterbury—"Magnificent. Congratulations. Alberta will kindle a world-wide torch" (Johnson & MacNutt, p. 139). And in Ceylon, the *Times* said, "Bravo" (Johnson & MacNutt, p. 139).

But with such ovation also came derision and cynicism. In London, for example, the *Daily Telegraph* predicted, "Long before the end of eighteen months that Aberhart stipulates to prepare the way for the Dividend, the disgruntled electors will be stoning the idol they so precipitately set up" (Johnson & MacNutt, 1970, p. 139). And on the Canadian scene, "papers spoke of landslides and avalanches, even of miracles. Some said that sudden disaster akin to flood and famine had struck Alberta" (Johnson & MacNutt, 1970, p. 139). Meanwhile, amidst the furor of this publicity Aberhart pledged that his government–elect would, by implementing Social Credit policies, bring relief to the province's "diseased economy"—a millenarian pledge that, for a variety of reasons, was impossible to realize.

> Neither Aberhart, his exceedingly capable protegé, the men of his cabinet, nor the Social Credit members—none of them had ever sat in the legislature before. They were as green to the procedures of such a body as they were to the intricacies of the new Social Credit theory. They were a mixed bag, heavily salted with twelve farmers and ten school teachers, but containing small town merchants and men from assorted walks of life. . . . All of them except possibly the lawyers came from occupations whose occupations had never been economic literacy.
>
> (MacGregor, 1972, p. 267)

But though Aberhart's theories were impractical and his methods wrong, his compassion, sincerity, and his revolt brought results. In bringing these results, Aberhart and his followers had to learn a bitter lesson about the difference between ideational aspiration and viability.

However, it is not as if the public was not forewarned, for before the election Aberhart had cautioned the electorate that it would take up to eighteen months to implement Social Credit dividends. Meanwhile, the situation was desperate.

> Some 52,000 Albertans were on relief, 10,000 of them heads of families. Fifty per cent of current provincial revenue was earmarked for debt charges. The Treasurer, Cockroft, telephoned Aberhart and told him there was doubt whether civil servants could even be paid.
>
> (Barr, 1974, pp. 84–85)

To alleviate this dilemma, Aberhart successfully negotiated a 2.5 million–dollar loan from the Dominion government.

But this measure was only a stopgap and the task of balancing the budget remained one of the three most difficult problems facing the new government. Equally irresolute were the other two: (a) reducing the private and public debt; and (b) implementation of social credit.

To assist in resolving the first problem, Aberhart hired R. J. Magor, a well-known Montreal financial advisor. On Magor's advice the civil service was reorganized, government expenditures were slashed, and the government assumed control of beer distribution. To help reduce the public debt, the government asked the bondholders to accept a reduced interest rate. Because this refunding proposal was not accepted, the province was forced to borrow a further $3,000,000 from the federal government. When the next maturity fell due on April 1, 1936 an enforced refunding at one-half the existing interest rate was adopted by Alberta. On this issue Aberhart remained adamant, ignoring a 1937 Supreme Court decision that declared the legislation *ultra vires*.

To resolve the third problem, the introduction of social credit, Aberhart wasted no time in soliciting advice from Douglas. This advice was not forthcoming since Douglas was rigidly opposed to the hiring of Magor and to Aberhart's debt reduction policies. Left on his own, Aberhart was forced to implement his own ideas. First among these was the Social Credit Measures Act, secured at the first session of the legislature in 1936. As enabling legislation it empowered an investigation into the possibility of instituting reform. At the second session the Alberta Credit House Act was passed which promised to pay registered Albertans the promised dividend. Two other important bills were secured in this session—the Debt Adjustment Act and the Reduction and Settlement of Land Debts Act. The first gave the Adjustment Board authority to hand down decisions that could not be questioned in the courts and the power to declare a debt moratorium. The second specified that for private debts interest on loans made before July 1, 1932 was uncollectable. To increase "currency exchange," Aberhart issued Prosperity Certificates which were to be used, in part, to meet government expenses. Because merchants, Boards of Commerce and the province itself refused to accept them, the plan was not successful and was abandoned within a few months.

Inevitably, the measures proposed by Aberhart fostered strong reactions—not only from individuals and/or institutions whose vested interests were threatened but also from the members of his own ranks. In some respects the insurgency of the latter, the backbenchers, was the most painful experience for the leader. The insurgency seems to have been precipitated by three principal circumstances. The first was disenchantment about Aberhart's rift with Douglas. The second was the agitation generated by the self-appointed English expert, John Hargrave. Leader of the Greenshirts (the British Social Credit Party), Hargrave fanned discontent in Alberta with doctrinaire pronouncements. The third was restlessness about the government's failure to pay the dividends.

The uprising compelled Aberhart to concede to some of the insurgents' demands. As an example, to bridge the gap between Aberhart and Douglas a five-member Social Credit Board was empowered to appoint two English experts approved by Douglas. George Frederic Powell and Denis Byrne were the appointees selected. Consultation with these experts culminated in the passage of three acts during the August 1937 legislative session: (a) the Credit of Alberta Regulation Act; (b) the Bank Employees Civil Rights Act; and (c) the Judicature Amendment Act. The intent of these bills was to place the banks under provincial control—("it forbade them to operate without licenses, and gave the province control over license provisions), denied bank employees access to the courts, and forbade licensed bank employees access to the courts, and forbade unlicensed bank employees from working" (Barr, 1974, p. 107). All three were quickly declared unconstitutional.

In October 1937, three other acts were passed which were subsequently disallowed. Two of these affected the banks. The third, the Accurate News and Information Act, empowered the chairman of the Social Credit Board to require the editor or publisher of any newspaper to give equal space to corrections of reports critical of the government and, further, to provide the name of the writer of any editorial or report. Protest to this bill, nicknamed the Press Gag Bill, was universal. A year later the Supreme Court declared this bill as *ultra vires* of a provincial government.

Between 1937 and 1941 eleven Alberta statutes were disallowed. In addition three Social Credit measures and seven debt reduction procedures were declared *ultra vires*. In face of these circumstances, the Aberhart government had only one choice—namely, to use the powers the province had at its command to increase purchasing power and control debt. Evidently the radical era of Social Credit was over. Of the radical reforms, only those related to education and municipal government endured. Respectively, these were the creation of the larger units of administration and the inauguration of the county system. Despite opposition from the trustees, 3,750 small school districts were combined into 50. Similarly, the many rural municipalities were united into 60 counties. These measures resulted in more efficient and less costly services.

Overall, as the next election (1940) was approaching, it was evident that Social Credit was in serious difficulty. Defections and floor-crossings had whittled down the 1935 house strength and economic recovery had been tortuous. Exacerbated by a bad crop in 1938, farm income in 1939 dropped to 1935 levels.

> And the best Social Credit had been able to do had been to prevent large-scale foreclosures and beat back the financiers for awhile; that and provide people with their most desperately needed commodity—hope.
>
> (Barr, 1974, p. 116)

And it is this commodity that Aberhart again exploited in the 1940 election campaign. An excerpt from one of his most famous speeches illustrates this point.

> The voters know who it is who has been fighting for their God-given rights during the past five years. So let them roll out their barrels of money, these big-shots and their deluded henchmen. I say let them begin at once their double-dealing, gossip-mongering, whispering campaigns . . . the mothers know who has brought comfort to saddened hearts.
>
> (Barr, 1974, p. 116)

But Aberhart's charisma had lost much of its appeal. This was evident in the 1940 election results. The Social Credit government was returned to power but the Socred popular vote dropped from fifty-four per cent to forty-three per cent. The returns are shown in Table 24.

Table 24

	1935	*1940*
Social Credit	56	36
Liberal	5	1
Conservative	2	0
UFA	0	0
Independent	0	19
Labor	0	1

By this time Canada was involved in the war against the Axis powers. Because of the exigencies of war, Social Credit entered an interregnum and, like the other parties and provinces, spent the early forties in relative economic prosperity and suspended its efforts to implement Social Credit doctrines. Under such conditions the need for basic monetary reform appeared irrelevant. And so Aberhart turned his attention to supporting the war effort urging only that wealth as well as manpower be conscripted.

Yet the conflagration did not divert the premier's attention from provincial issues. And living up to his old chord—"the mothers know who has brought comfort to saddened hearts"—Aberhart and his government, in 1942, extended free cancer clinics and health units and defended the Insurance Branch which provided health and life insurance. However, such legislation was not unaccompanied by setbacks. In the following year the Privy Council in London rang the death-knell for the last Social Credit major reform. On February 1, 1943 the Council invalidated the Debt Adjustment Act.

It was during that year's session that Aberhart's health began to deteriorate. Though doctors' reports were optimistic, the man who dominated Alberta's political scene for almost a decade began to fail. On June 29, 1943 Aberhart died of cirrhosis of the liver. The tribute published by the *Edmonton Bulletin* reflected the sentiments of the many venerating eulogies that were dedicated to the late premier. An excerpt from this editorial is cited below:

> "William Aberhart—The Man"
>
> William Aberhart has passed on, and an era has come to an end in Alberta.
>
> That does not mean that the principles for which Mr. Aberhart stood or the party which he founded will share his dissolution. Principles are eternal. And parties survive individuals.
>
> (*Edmonton Bulletin*, June 30, 1943)

That this was true for Social Credit is attested to by the fact that the party retained political dominance in Alberta until 1972.

Without doubt, E. C. Manning's leadership was a dominant factor in this success. For immediately following his election to premiership by cabinet caucus on June 3, 1943, Manning set out to restore some of the sense of direction and purpose that the government had lost and to implement efficient administration. The trend to becoming a pragmatic government (which began during Aberhart's tenure) was clearly shown when Manning, in the 1944 session, introduced free maternity hospitalization, increased school support grants, set up a Power Commission to facilitate rural electrification, and introduced stricter regulations concerning natural gas production at Turner Valley.

One year after assuming office, Manning called an election. The Social Credit victory margin—51 seats to seven—was a memorial and tribute to both Aberhart and Manning.

Upon reelection Manning addressed himself to two items of "old business." First was the issue of the Treasury Branches. To avoid having these Branches declared *de facto* banks and hence unconstitutional, procedural and terminological safeguards were devised. The other problem was the necessity to come to some settlement with the bondholders. Refusal to pay the bondholders full due in 1930 was an economic necessity, but Manning realized that to continue along such a course would have dire results for Alberta's economic future. By astute negotiating, the premier resolved this "thorny problem" with the

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bondholders and the federal authorities and, once resolved, decided to avoid the possibility of the province again being caught in a financial morass by deciding to adopt a pay-as-you-go policy.

A year later (1946), Manning initiated a last effort to implement Social Credit. This time the attempt, the passage of the Alberta Bill of Rights Act, was made by constitutional means. The Act sought to guarantee every Albertan free education, medical benefits, and a guaranteed income. It also sought to create a Board of Credit Commissioners to set up a program for the issuance of Social Credit dividends. However, Clause 28 of the Act stated that these measures would not be proclaimed until the Act was ratified by the Alberta Supreme Court. When the Court ruled that the Board of Credit Commissioners was unconstitutional the de-radicalization of Social Credit was almost completed. The final blow to the reformist movement and the ushering in of the Manning Era came with the prosperity brought by oil.

The Turner Valley field, discovered in 1914, was quickly running down just as Alberta's demand was rising rapidly. But, to quote MacGregor, "Albertans . . . had been born lucky" (MacGregor, 1972, p. 287) for on February 13, 1947, Leduc Oil Well No. 1 came in with a roar. Then on January 18, 1948, the first Woodbend well was discovered. And this was just the beginning.

> By 1949 . . . [the Leduc-Woodbend field] had 363 producing wells, by 1951 it had eight-hundred, and went on to reach its full development in 1954 with 1,278 wells. Similarly, by 1949, Redwater had 278 producers and reached its maximum of 926 three years later. And yet the Redwater field with 780 million barrels of estimated original recoverable oil and the Leduc-Woodbend with 329 million barrels turned out to be only Alberta's third largest and eighth largest fields respectively.
>
> (MacGregor, 1972, p. 292)

From the outset, revenue from oil was staggering. As an example, the Crown Trust Company of Calgary paid $1,853,333 for rights to explore on a quarter-section at Redwater. And in the next decade, by way of leases, royalties, and indirect taxes related to the oil industry, $1,540 million were added to the provincial coffers.

Such prosperity was bound to dampen the fervor of old-line Social Credit followers. But Manning, by efficiently administering the oil industry and resulting revenues, was successful in retaining his popularity with the electorate. This efficient administration of the "boom era" was accomplished by adopting a balanced policy of free enterprise and government control. His support for free enterprise was clearly articulated in a speech delivered at an oilmen's convention in San Antonio, Texas. Alberta's role in the oil industry, he stated, was:

> To create an atmosphere in which private capital and private business will have sufficient inducement and confidence to proceed with the development of which they have so capably demonstrated they are so completely capable as long as they are not hedged about with a lot of man-made restrictions that discourage and tend to undermine and destroy confidence.
>
> (Cultural Activities Branch, 1955, p. 286)

From the foregoing one could conclude that Manning was extremely friendly if not paternalistic to business. Yet it should be remembered that when it came to specifics and possible abuses by business, the premier was adamant in his opposition. Oilmen, for example, were quick to find out that as entrepreneurs they had to follow rules regarding spacing of wells, company interrelations, field production rates, etc.—regulations established by Alberta's Petroleum and Natural Gas Conservation Board. And this board was only one of many created during the Manning Era to facilitate state action and/or intervention.

To Manning such a policy was essential to ensure good government—to encourage free enterprise while protecting the "little man" from exploitation or abuse. Undoubtedly, the latter was a carry-over of the Depression Heritage Concern for the debtor. That this heritage remained alive is evident by the passage of the Debt Adjustment Act (1943). When this act was defeated, Alberta continued to protect debtors with the Debtor's Assistance Board.

Such measures along with efficient administration and elaborate "people programs" in education, health, and welfare ensured Manning's popularity. Evidence of this is seen in the election returns. Results of the 1948, 1952, and 1955 elections, presented in Table 25, corroborate this claim.

Table 25

	Members Elected		
Party	*1948*	*1952*	*1955*
Social Credit	51	52	37
C.C.F.	2	2	2
Liberal	2	4	15
Ind. S. Credit	1	1	1
Independent	1	—	1
Prog. Conservative	—	1	3
Liberal Conservative	—	—	1
Coalition	—	—	1

This record of Social Credit victories was to be repeated for almost two more decades. Details of the political developments during these years will be outlined in Chapter IX.

Economic Trends

As was mentioned in Chapter V, while Canada's per capita income declined by nearly 50% during the years 1929–1933, Alberta's per capita income fell in excess of 60% in the same period. "Nature and man seemed to conspire against the agriculturalist with the wheat farmer as the special target of adversity" (Easterbrook & Aitken, 1956, p. 494). Not only did the wheat farmer have to endure the economic setbacks that resulted from drought, frost, and locusts, he also had to contend with unfavorable national policies.

> Adherence to sound money doctrines left him exposed to adverse changes in export markets; on the other hand, measures taken to reduce debt burden . . . were largely ineffective. Higher tariffs for Canadian manufacturers left him with the prospect of buying in a strongly protected home market while at the same time selling in a world market in the face of fierce . . . competition. . . . The outcome of this conjuncture of unfavorable conditions was a long history of provincial and federal relief measures.
>
> (Easterbrook & Aitken, 1956, p. 494)

And again as noted in Chapter V, the depression did not reach its lowest point until 1936. Nor was there any significant recovery before 1940.

Without doubt this recovery was stimulated by the outbreak of World War II and the attendant increase in world demand. But though such developments pointed to renewed prosperity, some of the lessons learned during the Dirty Thirties were kept in mind. One practical outcome from these "learned lessons" was that agricultural policy was directed to cut back wheat production. Restrictions on wheat production were necessary. Higher prices and increased export sales were prime incentives to devote a higher percentage of land to wheat. In the spring of 1940, this acreage increased by two million acres. The prospect of a record total yield in 1940–41 in face of German military successes in Europe and blockade of ports was an ominous sign for wheat sales. To avoid potential difficulties for farmers and governments, deliveries to the Canadian Wheat Board were limited to 230 million bushels per annum. Quotas were set for each farmer and subsidies were paid to increase dairy, livestock, and coarse grain production and to increase summer fallow acreage. The policy was effective. For instance, Alberta wheat acreage dropped from 8,677,000 acres in 1940 to 6,481,000 in 1941 (*Alberta Facts & Figures*, 1954, p. 39). In 1944 the Wheat Reduction Act was not renewed and so the number of acres planted with wheat began to move upward again. By 1949 the area devoted to this crop was again approaching 8,000,000 acres. Though immediately followed by a decline in total wheat acreage, the excellent crops of the early fifties helped bring agricultural income to new levels. Despite these variations, it was apparent that a substantial area of Alberta was well-suited to wheat production and that this staple would remain one of Alberta's important exports.

But while measures were taken to control wheat production, subsidies were paid to increase livestock and dairy production. Two conditions were particularly favorable to the hog industry: first was the market provided for bacon by the British Empire Trade Agreements (1932); second was the dramatic increase in the demand for Canadian bacon during the war—the period during which hog marketing reached an all-time high. In the peak years, 1942 and 1943, farm income from hogs exceeded that from wheat (Easterbrook & Aitken, 1956, p. 495). Unfortunately for the hog producer, farm labor shortages, higher grain prices, and a steadily rising cattle market resulted in a marked drop in hog production after 1944. By 1949 hog marketing fell below the 1939 level and by 1957, for the January to October period, this figure was only slightly more than half the 1942 marketing.

The cattle industry, because it operates on a longer production cycle, was slower to respond to the government-awarded incentives. Improved markets for cattle in the United States in 1936 followed by wartime demands brought a steady increase in cattle production. Thus from 1939 to 1946 marketing of cattle increased from 248,748 to 494,137 heads. However, because the raising of cattle operates on a relatively long production cycle, it was not until 1950 that peak receipts were reached. Despite fluctuating trends, cattle marketing in 1957 for the January to October period exceeded the 1950 figure by 92,922 heads.

Contrary to expectations, and only in terms of one measure, the dairy industry responded negatively to government incentives. The number of milk cows in Alberta fell from a total of 442,500 in 1936 to 326,200 in 1946 and to 289,000 in 1953. The reductions were due to a decrease in the number of dairy farms operated, improved productivity, and the general improvement in the farmers' economic situation. Though the milk cow population declined, the total value of factory dairy products from 1936 to 1957—with the exception of 1945, 1949, and 1950—steadily increased (*Alberta Facts & Figures*, 1954, p. 58).

The foregoing trends are interesting because although the livestock and dairy industries were given government incentives, farmers were turning back to wheat even before the war was over. By that time, however, Alberta wheat farmers had more effectively adapted to regional differences and they were certain that dependence on this staple had been drastically reduced.

Though the agricultural industry suffered most severely during the depression, the manufacturing sector of the economy was also hard hit. Manufacturers could, to a degree, adjust prices and thereby exercise some control over their income. Yet despite this control, drastically depressed markets perceptibly reduced the dollar value of manufacturing productivity—from $100,966,196 to $49,395,514 between 1929 and 1933. The years that followed 1957 showed a pattern of recovery and increase. To cite one illustration, between 1941 and 1953 the gross value of manufacturing in Alberta increased from $142,000,000 to $541,000,000. In part, the manufacturing industry's development was accelerated after the economic vulnerability of a one-commodity economy was exposed in the depression years. Political and industrial leaders determined to develop industrialization as rapidly as possible to reduce this vulnerability. With firm markets for agricultural products reestablished during the war years, and with the eventual control of the wheat industry, agricultural prosperity continued in the post-war years. This prosperity provided a firm base "and the discovery and rapid development of oil resources stimulated the rapid development of manufacturing expansion" (*Alberta Facts & Figures*, 1954, p. 160).

But not every aspect of Alberta's economy suffered the traumas experienced by the farmers and unskilled laborers during the depression. Here and there a "beam of light" persisted. One of these was the air industry, for even the depression could not indefinitely forestall its growth. Though the Dominion government had provided essential airfield services from Winnipeg to Calgary and Edmonton by 1931, these facilities did little to promote the development of airfields and air services in either Calgary or Edmonton. Evidently, the future of the air industry in these two centers "lay in serving . . . their own immediate area and looking to the far North" (MacGregor, 1972, pp. 273–274). Vanguards in the enterprises connected with the North were the famous bush pilots. With their knowledge of the area and their flying skills, these pilots were soon to become indispensable to the development of the mining industry in the Territories.

> It was these men who made it possible to tap the mineral wealth, flying in everything from prospectors to bulldozers.
>
> They carried in food and mail and brought out fish and furs. They performed incredible feats of heroism, often risking their own lives, to bring medical attention to people seriously ill or badly injured.
>
> And they did it all in a characteristic, zany way, that has led to countless stories that begin with a grin and a shake of the head and a "Say, did you hear about . . .?"
>
> (Hamilton, 1971, pp. 40–41)

Taking off in a new direction on July 5, 1937 Grant McConachie flew from Cooking Lake to Whitehorse, Yukon. By this time planes were equipped with two-way radios and the Canadian government had established radio and weather stations at Fort St. John, Fort Nelson, and Lower Post. And with the outbreak of World War II, increased federal involvement followed. Hangars were built across the nation and funds were made available to improve runways. A few years later, the Trans-Canada Airline became a reality, giving Alberta access to most of the major centers in Canada. Alberta had entered the air age.

Another activity relentlessly pursued throughout the depression years was the search for oil. Though this search dates back to the 1890s and though William Stewart Herron and Archibald Dingman did strike oil near Black Diamond in 1914, it was not until 1924 that a major discovery was made at Turner Valley. Following this find, 114 wells were drilled in this area between 1924 and 1936. In the latter year a large reserve of oil was found on the west side of the field. Another boom was on. But in the years that followed no other major fields were discovered and "by the end of World War II, dreams of gigantic oil fields in Alberta were dwindling fast" (Hamilton, 1971, p. 45). And with good reason. Imperial Oil, for example, had nothing but 133 dry holes after years of drilling.

Despite these unproductive and costly ventures, the search, fortunately, was not forsaken. On February 13, 1947 Imperial Leduc No. 1 became the discovery well of another rich oil field. Less than a year later the first Woodbend (14 miles west of Edmonton) well 'came in.' For the Leduc-Woodbend field this was just the beginning.

> By 1949 it had 363 producing wells, by 1951 it had eight hundred, and went on to reach its full development in 1954 with 1,278 wells. Similarly, by 1949, Redwater had 278 producers and reached its maximum of 926 three years later.
>
> (McGregor, 1972, p. 292)

And from these two fields the rigs fanned out to Stettler and Bon Accord; from the fields of Lloydminster to Normandville in the Peace River country. Success followed success and the prairies and parklands became dotted with wells from the 49th parallel to Cold Lake. Richest of all the finds came in 1953 with the discovery of the Pembina field seventy miles south and west of Edmonton. Four years later another major discovery was made at Swan Hills.

This oil boom turned out to be bigger than even the prophets dared to dream. Appropriately described by John Patrick Gillese, oil was indeed Alberta's "million dollar baby." By 1952, oil worth almost $400,000 was being produced each day from the provincial Devonian reefs. On an annual basis the value of this production amounted to $139,512,432. Five years later (1957), the valuation was $355,555,140.

Concomitant increases in the production and sales of natural gas were also evident in the 1936 to 1957 period. From a total production of just over 19,000,000 cubic feet in 1936 and a value of over $4,000,000, this increased to 183,140,820 cubic feet and a value of $13,735,562 in 1957. Combined with the value of agricultural production, manufacturing, etc., the oil and natural gas boom brought unprecedented revenue to Alberta.

Population and Immigration

There is no doubt that the Dirty Thirties had a depressing effect on Alberta's population growth. Note that from 1926 to 1931 there was a population increase of 20.41% as compared to 5.63% for the 1931 to 1936 period—the years during which the prairie economy experienced its sharpest downswing. Though economic recovery was evident by 1939, population growth was then hampered by the outbreak of World War II. Hence, the increase in the province's population for the 1936 to 1941 period dropped to 3.03 per cent. The next five years were war years and Alberta's population growth was marginal—from 796,169 to 803,330. This was only a .90 per cent increase.

With the cessation of hostilities the downward trend was reversed and Alberta's population rose to 939,501 by 1951, a percentage increase of 16.9. During the next five-year period (1951–1956) the percentage increase rose to 19.5 bringing the province's population figure over the million mark [1,123,116] (*Census of Canada*, Bulletin: 3-1, 1956, p. 1-1). The rapid growth following the war reflected rising trends in marriages and births, falling death rates, and immigration. In turn, these variables were influenced by the prosperity that came with the "oil boom" and related industrial development.

Such rapid development emphasized the shortage of skilled labor in the province—labor that was essential to the expansion of industry. To meet this need an immigration policy was developed to encourage the influx to Alberta of selected individuals and families from the United Kingdom (*Alberta Facts & Figures*, 1954, p. 277). In April, 1948, Alberta House was opened in London to disseminate factual information about the province and to advise and screen prospective immigrants. This policy did not preclude immigration from other countries. As an illustrative example, in 1952 immigrants from thirty-nine different ethnic backgrounds came to Alberta. In terms of numbers, the Germans with 3,472 and the East Indians with 2,752 outnumbered the 2,506 English, Irish, Scottish, and Welsh immigrants.

Also apparent is that Alberta was attracting a higher percentage of the total number of immigrants that were coming to Canada. In 1941, according to *Alberta Facts & Figures*, only 3.08 per cent of all immigrants to Canada came to Alberta; in 1949 the figure was 8.94 per cent. Expressed in absolute terms, immigration to Alberta rose from 768 in 1936 to 21,131 in 1957.

As seen in the foregoing, total population figures after World War II reveal sizeable growth. Demographic data relevant to this point and urban–rural distribution is presented in Table 26.

Table 26

Total Population—Alberta 1936-1956 *

Year	*Urban*	*Rural*	*Total*
1936	286,447	486,335	772,782
1941	306,586	489,583	796,169
1946	354,396	448,934	803,330
1951	449,675	489,826	939,501
1956	635,824	487,292	1,123,116

Apparent in the table is the rural–urban demographic shift. In 1936 the rural–urban distribution was 62.93% and 37.07% respectively. By 1956 this distribution was 43.29% and 56.71%.

Sociocultural Developments

Initially, the problems created by the depression were viewed as a temporary breakdown in the economic system. But as it continued year after year, with no significant sign of recovery in Alberta until 1940, the prevalence of despair and indifference became more clearly evident. Three historical responses to crisis situations were tried as solutions to the problem.

The most apparent concrete manifestation of despair was retreat. That it was quite common is understandable for,

> All the farmer could do was plant his wheat and hope for the best, hope that by fall the price [and, in many regions, the yield] would be better. And so he continued

---

* Data for 1936-1951: *Alberta Facts & Figures*, 1954, pp. 332-333; 1956: *Statistics Canada*, 1958, pp. 2-8; 1971: *Statistics Canada*, Catalogue 92-709, Vol 1, Part 1, 1972, pp. 10-1 & 11.1.

> to put in his wheat every spring . . . and find at harvest time he had made a mistake.
>
> (Neatby, 1972, p. 30)

Confronted by the above adversities, magnified by depressed prices, many farmers gave up, deserted their farms, and retreated to the north to take up the heartbreaking task of homesteading uncleared land. Others left the prairies and moved west across the Rockies, south to the States, or east to Ontario. Between 1931 and 1937, 21,000 Albertans were involved in this exodus. On the other hand, a minority migrated to the cities to live in paper shacks and look for work like the rest of the unemployed.

While some farmers were moving to the cities, many urban dwellers were retreating to the country. Such movement was encouraged by provincial governments and every province, with the exception of Prince Edward Island, implemented programs to establish relief recipients on farm land. "The idea that . . . agriculture could take up the slack when industrial society broke down was one of the most prevalent, and . . . anachronistic notions of the 1930s" (Grayson & Bliss, 1971, p. xv).

With respect to the second response to the crisis, it is difficult to understand how the hungry and the poorly clad, often without adequate shelter, could become indifferent to the very conditions that were responsible for their misery. But for those who lingered around labor camps day after day hoping to get hired, for those who "rode the rods" looking for employment, frequently begging for food wherever the freight trains stopped, for the disabled, and for the aged, there was, eventually, nothing left but government relief. For most Albertans, as for most Canadians, to go on relief was a humiliating experience. There was a conviction that the acceptance of charity was a confession of failure. Those left with no alternative but to request relief did so with despair and resignation. Often with this resignation came indifference—the kind that is bred by futility.

But more resolute minds did attempt constructive means to cope with the problems of depression. Hundreds of programs were developed to create work and alleviate suffering. These included the following:

> Debt reduction legislation; loans to farmers, small business, big business, and homeowners; seed and fodder programs; job retraining schemes; subsidies to doctors and teachers . . . the construction of the Trans-Canada Highway; and . . . war against drought and rust.
>
> (Grayson & Bliss, 1971, p. xvi)

Despite the sincerity of these efforts, by modern welfare standards all the programs were inadequate. Consequently, Albertans, almost for the first time, began to question seriously the structure of their society and the role of their institutions. Such dissatisfaction and analysis culminated in the Social Credit victory and, subsequently, the attempt to implement radical reforms that a few years before would have been heretical.

The despair, retreat, and indifference that came in the wake of the depression were not the only nor the most significant social dislocations. In their overt form, these were temporary responses that left little impact on the social organization after economic normalcy returned. More enduring were the psychological effects. For a depression is more than deflated prices and a statistical compendium of unemployed and relief recipients; it is really a state of mind, a loss of faith in stability and security. For those who endured and survived the hard times in the thirties, this sense of insecurity never really was dispelled. Neatby comments on this phenomenon:

> The realization that disaster can strike instills a caution which still survives. Young people today are willing to quit one job before they find another or interrupt their formal education for a year of travel; they argue there are more important things than steady employment. . . . Their parents, on the other hand, are likely to be uneasy until their children have given hostages to fortune and have the stability that comes with sick leave, pension rights, and all other trimmings of economic security.
>
> (Neatby, 1972, p. 23)

It seems that these parents did successfully transmit some of this caution to their children. Mass media and surveys report that Canadians tend to save a higher percentage of their income and invest a lower percentage than their southern counterparts. But the children born after the Depression were of a different temperament. Raised in a world at war and/or in a post-war world of economic resurgence, they were bound to develop a world view dramatically different from the "depression mentality." Even the adults had to readjust their perspectives. Wartime calls for daring, courage and action and during World War II, many Albertans proved they had these attributes.

The first major test for Albertans (more accurately for Canadians) came on August 19, 1942 in what has since been called the fiasco at Dieppe. Of the 6,100 men engaged in the Dieppe raid nearly 5,000 were Canadians. Among the latter was the 1st Army Tank Brigade which included the Calgary Tanks.

The assignment for this contingent was explicit.

> The raiders were to destroy German defenses, airdrome installations, radar and power stations, dock and rail facilities and fuel dumps, get German invasion barges for allied use, seize documents and capture prisoners.
>
> (*The Canadians at War 1939/45*, 1969, p. 178)

All this was to be accomplished in a location that not only had its share of Nazi defenses in Europe but also had the natural obstacle of high cliffs. "Against this strong position were sent untried troops supported only by fighters, fighter-bombers and light bombers, and the four-inch guns of eight destroyers" (*The Canadians at War 1939/45*, 1969, p. 178). As could be expected, casualties were high. From Calgary's regiment "an especially heavy toll had been taken of the young men from the Stettler area where one company had been recruited" (MacGregor, 1972, p. 276).

In July 1943, the Loyal Edmonton Regiment and the Calgary Highlanders fought Germans and Italians in Sicily and Italy as members of General Montgomery's army. A year later Alberta troops were in the thick of the battle in Italy. By the spring of 1945, most of them were transferred to Western Europe. Equally significant were the combatant duties played by Alberta's naval and air force men.

While combatants served overseas, strategic developments were occurring at home. As part of Canada's involvement in the Commonwealth Air Training Plan, Alberta provided airfields to accommodate the training of thousands of air personnel. The demands placed on the airfields necessitated the upgrading of existing runways and the construction of new bases (Namao). Further, United States defence plans included a highway to Alaska—a highway that had to cross 1,221 miles of Canadian soil. Again both countries combined their efforts and within nine months 1,523 miles of highway, across the most difficult terrain, were completed.

Both of these enterprises brought a tremendous influx of Americans to Alberta, especially Edmonton. Their presence brought thousands of dollars to local businesses, yet everyone was relieved when on August 15, 1945, V-J Day was announced. The war was finally over and civilians and solders abruptly had to turn their attention to life in a "world of peace."

Everyone, it appeared, wanted to return to the lifestyle they had left behind five years ago. And certain realities seemed to indicate that this was possible. After all, Alberta had not changed much since the late twenties. To cite one instance, from 1926 to 1946 the population increased by less than 200,000, an average of 10,000 per year. Even more indicative of stability was the population increase of only 30,548 between 1936 and 1941, an average of 3,000 per annum. The only significant demographic change that occurred during the wartime period was the rural-urban shift. Whereas the rural population remained relatively stable from 1911 to 1941, constituting approximately 62% of the total throughout these three decades, it declined markedly in the next five years. By 1946 the percentage of rural people fell to fifty-six percent (MacGregor, 1972, p. 285).

Other indices appeared to support the idea that it was possible to return to pre-war conditions. During the war, farmers' income had risen from $73,000,000 in 1933 to $338,000,000 in 1945. By 1946, however, it had dropped to $280,000,000 with prospects of continuing decline. During the war the lumber and coal mining industries also attained record levels of production. But by 1946 this trend too had stabilized. And in the oil industry, nothing had happened to cause any excitement. "Actually then, Alberta had changed very little" (MacGregor, 1972, p. 285).

But all of this changed in 1947 and in the years that followed. With the discovery of rich oil and gas fields, Alberta entered a boom period unlike any it had ever known. An indication of the magnitude of this boom is the increase in the value of petroleum crude produced in 1957 as compared to 1947. From a modest $18,078,907 in 1947 (*Alberta Facts & Figures*, 1954, p. 98), the sale value of petroleum crude produced in 1957 soared to $288,443,423 (*Summary of General Statistics*, 1957, p. 8). Comparable trends were apparent in other industrial and commercial and tertiary industries which in turn increased the demand for diversified agricultural production.

Such dramatic economic activity and expansion created a strong demand for labor—for the unskilled, the skilled, the semi-professional, and the professional. This demand and the opportunities it offered, enticed thousands of people to migrate to Alberta. Consequently, in the ten-year period from 1947 to 1957 Alberta's population mushroomed from 803,330 to 1,123,116, an increase of 40 percent. Though predominantly British, ethnic/racial and religious plurality continued to be a basic attribute of Alberta's population. Tables 27a and 27b illustrate this point.

As Table 27a shows, in 1961 the British still retained their position as the predominant ethnic group in Alberta. But also apparent are interesting trends regarding the rate of growth of other ethnic groups. For example, from 1941 to 1961 the percentage increase for the British was approximately 33; for the Germans it was 134; for the Polish about 50; for the Ukrainians, 47; and for the Jews practically nil. For the major part, these differential growth patterns were the result of a post-war immigration that was stimulated by the problems of post-war reconstruction and the threat of Soviet expansion—e.g., the Hungarian invasion in 1957. For the European Jews, the enticements offered by Canada and Alberta were perhaps overshadowed by the attraction of an independent homeland. (Israel became an independent state in 1948.)

Table 27a
Population by Racial Origin

Racial Origins	*1936*	*1941*	*1951*	*1961*
British Isles	400,135	399,432	451,709	601,755
French	39,800	42,979	56,185	83,319
German	90,961	77,721	107,985	183,314
Italian	4,802	4,206	5,996	15,025
Jewish	3,331	4,164	3,935	4,353
Netherlands	12,997	20,429	29,385	55,530
Polish	24,060	26,845	29,661	40,539
Russian	12,675	19,316	15,353	17,952
Scandinavian	61,183	63,494	70,929	95,879
Ukrainian	63,073	71,868	86,957	105,923
Other European	34,696		38,527	72,274
Asiatic	4,110	4,204	7,441	12,503
Others	21,523	22,303		
Not Stated	134	368	14,228	43,578
Native Indian & Eskimo	12,029	12,569	21,210	

Yet despite the depression, the global war, and the affluence that came with the "boom," Albertans did not lose their appreciation for the arts nor their sense of humor. At times the two qualities merged. For example, during the bleakest days of the depression they listened to records such as "Hallelujah I'm a Bum." Meanwhile, those fortunate enough to have radios were treated to the talents of Harold Arlen, Jerome Kern, Rodgers and Hart, Cole Porter, Irving Berlin and the Gershwin brothers. The creativity of such individuals made the popular song an art.

> The Gershwins gave us "The Man I Love," "Body and Soul," . . . "Embraceable You," and "It Ain't Necessarily So," . . . From Rodgers and Hart came "I Didn't Know What Time It Was," . . . "The Lady is a Tramp," . . . and "Ten Cents a Dance." Jerome Kern wrote "Smoke Gets In Your Eyes," . . . and "All the Things You Are," while Irving Berlin gave us "Cheek to Cheek," "Isn't This a Lovely Day," and "I've Got My Love to Keep Me Warm." For Various Cotton Club reviews Harold Arlen wrote "Stormy Weather" . . . and "I've Got the World on a String." . . . Finally, the elegant Cole Porter wrote . . . "Begin the Beguine," "Miss Otis Regrets," "Night and Day," . . . and "In the Still of the Night."
>
> (Hamburger & Stern, 1975, p. 39)

Also, during the thirties, jazz transcended its Black cultural base and began to be appreciated across the entire North American continent.

Table 27b

Population by Religious Denomination—1931-1961

Religious Denomination	*1931 No.*	*1941 No.*	*1951 No.*	*1961 No.*
Adventist	4,213	4,697	4,808	
Anglican	112,979	113,279	122,980	156,630
Baptist	30,496	32,268	34,720	42,430
Brethren	1,192	1,014		
United Brethren	124	32		
Buddhist	366	373	2,473	
Christian	2,315	1,372		
Christian Science	2,075	1,372	1,835	
Church of Christ	1,251	2,103	1,563	
Church of God	943	2,103		
Confucian	1,728	1,799		
Doukhobor	786	822		
Evangelical Church	2,133	4,165	7,370	
Greek Catholic			37,514	35,260
Greek Orthodox	26,427	39,278	40,199	47,353
International Bible		34,991		
Students' Association	1,252	1,010		
Jewish	3,663	4,052	4,626	6,045
Lutheran	82,411	84,630	87,364	122,520
Mennonite	8,289	12,097	13,528	16,269
Moravian	1,448	1,522		
Mormon	13,185	14,960	18,343	
Pentecostal	3,655	8,451	9,499	15,112
Plymouth Brethren	528	464		
Presbyterian	72,069	68,910	55,004	55,337
Protestant	1,931	917		
Reformed Church	776	1,100		
Roman Catholic	168,408	152,065	186,312	298,741
Salvation Army	2,024	2,103	2,405	
United Church of Canada	176,816	193,664	276,551	418,927
Other Denominations	7,099	9,468	32,405	117,320
Not Stated	1,023	1,458		
Congregationalists		(See United Church of Canada)		
Methodists		(See United Church of Canada)		

(To obtain the data for the above table, it was necessary to refer to *Alberta Facts & Figures* and to the *Dominion Bureau of Vital Statistics*. This accounts for the differences in the categorization of religious denominations.)

Though Benny Goodman, Artie Shaw, and Jimmy and Tommy Dorsey did much to promote the growth of swing music in this decade, "the real creative energy behind their success came from the work of Count Basie and Duke Ellington" (Hamburger & Stern, 1975, p. 39). And their success continued throughout the war years as service personnel and civilians alike became enthralled by "big-band" renditions of "In the Mood" and other swing tunes. At the same time, the war rekindled patriotic fervor to new heights. In bars, public halls, in schools, in homes, "Brittania Rules the Waves," "The Maple Leaf Forever," "It's a Long Way to Tipperary," "Pack Up Your Troubles," etc., were ever-popular melodies.

But when the war ended and people turned their attention to a world at peace, the patriotic songs quickly lost their popularity. By mid-century it was among the three categories of song that publishers would not even audition, current events and religious being the other two. Current events, in particular, were ruled out because by 1950 popular music "had no relevance to the day's events or problems—in fact it avoided them" (Shaw, 1974, p. 14). Rather, mainstream popular music focused on:

> Sentiment and sentimentality, heartbreak and the homely virtues, romance and dreams, sometimes humor. It eschewed realism, gut truth, down-to-earth situations, and the joys and problems of the flesh. It addressed itself to the heart, not the stomach, nerves, or genitalia, and seldom the mind.
>
> (Shaw, 1974, p. 16)

By the beginning of the fifties this Tin Pan Alley era of balladry was in the doldrums and it easily gave way to rhythm and blues. And then rock and roll came rolling in with Bill Haley, Elvis Presley, and a number of younger singers, but most prominently Elvis. Presley's rebellion, his surly refusal of responsibility and reaction to stifling conformity, captured a social base, the teenagers, and ensured rock music's popularity for an entire generation. This was possible in the '50s for the '50s were an exceptional time. Shaw describes this period very aptly.

> The '50s were a time of flux, of sound and fury. The sound was made by young people creating their own culture; and the fury that of the older generation resisting, hating, and opposing something they could not and did not want to understand. Mutual trust between those under and over thirty splintered.
>
> (Shaw, 1974, pp. xv–xvi)

Those who did not understand rock and roll remained loyal to the blues, country and western, swing, and classical. Nor, in the wake of television, did they abandon the theatre, the symphony, or the ballet. As Albertans became more affluent they sought, in MacGregor's terms, "the trappings of the wealthy."

> Fortunately these trappings include appreciation and patronage of the arts. Alberta's cultural life suddenly found that the increased piles of folding dollars, combined with a rapid influx of immigrants from the music steeped cities of Europe, allowed it to flourish as never before. Alongside the discovery of oil, came that of arts: theatre, ballet, music, opera, and paintings, each found new strata to tap and new heights to scale.
>
> (MacGregor, 1972, p. 300)

Assisting in this cultural renaissance were the municipal and provincial governments. Aided by the Canada Council the two levels of government granted generous subsidies to promote the arts. To cite an example, it was such financial assistance that brought Edmonton and Calgary their Jubilee Auditoriums, and smaller halls in other communities.

Amidst all this activity, the tensions of the Cold War were brought to a focus on October 4, 1957. On that day, Moscow radio announced that Russian scientists had successfully launched an earth satellite—Sputnik I. Following are the excerpts of the text in translation of the announcement by the Soviet News Agency Tass:

> As a result of intensive work by the research institute . . . the first artificial earth satellite in the world has now been created [and launched.]
>
> The satellite is of spherical shape, fifty-eight centimeters (about twenty-two inches) in diameter and weighs 83.6 kilograms (about 184 pounds). It is fitted with steel radio transmitters.
>
> The scientific experiment staged at such a great height is of great importance for fathoming the properties of cosmic space and for studying earth as part of our solar system.
>
> (*New York Times*, October 4, 1957, p. 2)

The following day this scientific feat was headline news in every major newspaper around the world. Three examples from selected dailies are cited below.

> RUSSIAN *SCIENTISTS* LAUNCH SATELLITE
>
> Speed is 18,000 m.p.h.
> Sends Radio Reports
>
> 185-Pound Device Circles Earth
> Every 95 Minutes
>
> MOSCOW (AP)—Russia announced today it has launched the earth's first man-made satellite 560 miles out in space.
>
> The dramatic claim that Russia had beaten the United States in the satellite race came in an announcement saying the artificial moon was raised by multiple-stage rockets. (*Edmonton Journal*, October 5, 1957, p. 1)
>
> RUSSIA LAUNCHES FIRST SATELLITE
>
> Paves Way to Planets, Soviets Say
>
> MOSCOW, Oct. 5 (Saturday)—Russia announced today it has sent the world's first artificial moon streaking around the globe. . . . Artificial satellite will pave the way for space travel (*Toronto Star*, October 5, 1957, p. 1)
>
> RUSSIA *LAUNCHES* EARTH SATELLITE
>
> 180 LB. SPHERE TRAVELLING AT HEIGHT
> OF 560 MILES

> Moscow radio announced last night that Russia yesterday launched an earth satellite.
>
> (*London Times*, October 5, 1957, p. 6)

As exemplified by the above, the newspaper coverage of this event was extensive. And, together with other media, they generated and maintained a high level of interest in the history-making satellite. This was particularly true in Russia.

On the other hand, initially the North American public did not seem to know what to make of the announcement. Many had little interest in this major breakthrough while others asserted that the newspapers were being duped. But as additional information became available, the mood changed. It was established that the three-stage Russian rocket that had propelled Sputnik into an orbit was nearly 20 times more powerful than that planned for the United States Vanguard and that Sputnik's orbit was more difficult to achieve than that planned for the American launching. Together with other significant and well-publicized accomplishments such as the Tupolev 104 jet transport and the testing of an intercontinental missile, the launching, in a matter of days, was the subject of intense interest and concern for the free world. It also precipitated a broad spectrum of action ranging from restructuring national defense systems to revising educational programs. In the flurry of international activity precipitated by Sputnik, Alberta was not unaffected. Details of the impact this event had upon Albertans, particularly on their school systems, will be considered in detail in Chapter IX.

Political, Economic, and Sociocultural Factors—Their Implications for Education—1936–1957

The political, economic, social, and educational concerns of the United Farmers of Alberta were discussed in the preceding chapter. Not mentioned though was that the group was but part of the Canadian Progressive movement—a movement which was most active in the second and third decades of this century. And it was in the western provinces that this movement had its greatest success. In part this can be attributed to the fact that,

> The prime motivation behind Canadian Progressivism . . . came from grievances voiced by western provinces. The character of the movement was basically agrarian and was an expression of revolt against the old National Policy and its system of fiscal protection. Closely associated in guilt with economic policy, according to the Progressives, was the established political system. The concept

> of Canadian economic policy which the Progressives accepted and reacted against was that of a metropolitan economy operating through control of tariffs, railways and credit to drain the wealth of rural areas for the benefit . . . of the commercial and industrial centers.
>
> (Patterson, 1968, p. 64)

Central to the Progressive movement, in addition to political and economic reforms, were humanitarian concerns. In combination, these constituted a program of social reconstruction, a goal that was shared both by the United Farmers Association and progressive educators.

But with much of the advocated legislation passed during the First World War, prohibition acts, women's suffrage, compulsory education, and legislation to improve health care, labor conditions, and child welfare—and because the Progressive Party failed to establish itself as a viable "third party,"—the Progressive movement came to an end in 1926. Yet its influence, manifested in the platforms of the United Farmers Association and the objectives of progressive education, extended into the thirties and forties. And even after economic recession, political sterility, and a political scandal led to the defeat of the United Farmers Association, the ideals of social reconstruction were kept "alive" by progressive educators and by the newly elected (1935) Social Credit government.

As has been noted, reforms to restructure the monetary system and others designed to offset the hardships brought on by the depression were introduced and approved by the new legislative body. Most of these were declared unconstitutional. Much better success was achieved in the educational domain. Although, as R. S. Patterson points out, the implementation of educational changes came after the election of the Social Credit government,

> It is important to realize that these changes were well developed prior to Social Credit assumption of political authority. They did require the opportune time to put them into effect. The change to Social Credit in 1935 offered this chance for implementation.
>
> (Patterson, 1968, p. 78)

From about the middle of the second decade of this century to the early '30s a number of educational issues became the focus of general concern. Included in this broad spectrum of issues were the deplorable conditions under which teachers had to work (especially in rural areas) and their lack of professional status. Believing that the solution to many of these problems lay in collective bargaining, many teachers took up the cause and in 1918 formed the Teachers' Alliance. Notably militant, in the years to come this organization (and the succeeding

Teachers' Association) did yeoman work to improve teaching, teachers' salaries, teachers' qualifications and education in general.

Other serious issues that arose during the period in question concerned the matter of providing adequate educational experiences for the heterogeneous student population. Most obvious was the difference in the education experiences of rural and urban students. Evident to many was that this differential was closely tied to the existing administrative structure. Hence, plans to rectify this situation were proposed in the early 1920s. For years no action was taken and so the grievances of the rural school remained unresolved, in fact exacerbated by the increasing tempo of industrialization. Finally, in April 1934 the United Farmers Association government appointed a committee to make a comprehensive study of education in rural Alberta and to report its findings to the next session of the Legislature.

Chaired by the Minister of Education, Perrin E. Baker, the committee held meetings in June, July, October, November and January. In addition, submissions and recommendations were received from many organizations and individuals. In April of 1935 the committee presented its findings to the Legislature. Of the thirteen recommendations submitted, the most important were: (a) that the Department of Education give careful study to the question of the larger unit of administration; (b) that the teacher training program be upgraded, and (c) that the curriculum be revised.

Though presented to the United Farmers Association government, no action was taken during the remaining months of the party's mandate. Rather, these reforms were implemented after the Social Credit party assumed political power. It was not that Aberhart and his following spearheaded the reforms. However, to the credit of the premier and his following, the needs for curriculum and administrative reforms were not only recognized but also endorsed when developed by progressive educators. Consequently, in the *Thirty-First Annual Report of the Department of Education*, the Deputy Minister of Education (G. Fred McNally) was able to announce the following "happenings of more than usual interest" which occurred in the field of education in 1936:

> (a) The introduction of the new enterprise or activity system of education in the elementary school.
>
> (b) The beginnings of an "Intermediate School" organization.
>
> (c) The granting of professional status to teachers.
>
> (d) The reorganization of rural administrative units into large groups of schools or "Divisions."
>
> (e) Revision of the regulations governing teacher selection and training.
>
> (f) Further increase in the number of new school districts organized and in the number of log school buildings erected free of debenture indebtedness.

(g) The highest percentage of pupils in secondary grades in our history.
(*Annual Report of the Department of Education*, 1936, p. 7)

The first two reforms have been discussed in Chapter VI. The remaining changes will be considered next.

Of significance to the teachers of the province and to education in general was the passage of the Teaching Profession Act, 1935. In accordance with Section 2-(1) of the Act, the Alberta Teachers' Association was declared a body corporate and public. The part of the Act most important to the "teaching body," paragraph one of Section 4.-(1), is cited below,

> All persons carrying on the profession of teaching in any institution of the Province of Alberta, supported by provincial or municipal taxation, which maintains a department for giving instruction in the courses of study prescribed for elementary, secondary, or technical schools under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education of the Province of Alberta shall, as a condition of their employment, or continued employment, be members of the Association.
> (*The School Act*, 1937, p. 166)

That this legislation was a positive measure was adamantly maintained by those who urged the passage of the Act. Allegedly, the following advantages were quickly realized:

(a) A new sense of professional responsibility on the part of all teachers.
(b) Exercise of disciplinary powers conferred by the Act.
(c) Promotion of higher educational, ethical, and professional ideals.
(d) A more generous spirit of cooperation on the part of the association with the trustees, the Department and the public generally.
(*Annual Report of the Department of Education*, 1936, p. 7)

Also, it was felt that legislative endorsement of the Alberta Teachers' Association would facilitate the recognition of teaching as a profession comparable to professions like medicine, pharmacy, architecture, law, and nursing.

Yet despite these sentiments, in retrospect the long-term economic and non-economic results of compulsory and 100 per cent membership in the Association are not readily apparent. Concerning economic benefits to teachers, the growing stratification of our society along vocational lines, to the point that even civil servants have gained collective bargaining rights, would suggest that even if the compulsory membership clause had not been included in the Act, differences from the current situation would be only slight. Regarding non-economic benefits, there is no doubt that today the Association's representatives speak about educational issues to local school board members or Department of Education officials with confidence and authority. And though their status remains far short of that of other professionals, they have certainly risen above being "servants" to small-district school boards.

More immediate in its impact on education than the Professional Teaching Act was the following legislation:

> 231.-(1) Where the conditions prevailing are such that it appears advisable in the interests of education so to do, or if it is requested by the boards of trustees of the majority of school districts in a proposed division, the Minister may by order constitute a school division consisting of any number of rural school districts not being districts wholly or partially included in a consolidated district.
>
> (*The School Act*, 1937, p. 85)

This enactment made possible the establishment of the large administrative unit. With such an administrative system, educational and political authorities believed it would be possible to bring health supervision, better instruction in music, facilities for training in household economics, practical education, drama, better libraries, and the provision of high school facilities comparable to those commonplace in urban areas to rural students.

Immediate action followed this revolutionary enactment. During the fall of 1936, eleven school divisions, comprising 744 school districts, were organized in Alberta. The majority of these were established in the southern part of the province where economic conditions were most severe. Two, however, were in the northern part of the province: Lac La Biche and Peace River. Once initiated, the movement gained momentum. Commenting on this trend, John W. Chalmers states:

> In 1938, another 11 divisions were born; the following year 22 more. By then, most of the settled part of the province had been covered and the movement slowed down. By 1941 an additional six divisions, bringing the total to 50, completely blanketed the agricultural area.
>
> (Chalmers, 1967, p. 286)

Comprehensive as the movement was, it did not come to a close. So successful was the divisional system of administration that it was later established in non-agricultural areas, some smaller in geographic size and population than those in agricultural areas. By 1957, there were 59 divisions and counties (into which some divisions had been transformed).

Further to these efforts to upgrade the quality of education, the government instituted new requirements for admission to teaching. In his report on this policy G. Fred McNally, Deputy Minister of Education, wrote:

> To that end admission to Normal School next fall will be restricted to those holding the Grade XII certificate. In September last some twenty candidates were rejected because they appeared to have disabilities likely to make success in teaching very problematical. In addition to being subjected to a vigorous medical examination, candidates will be required to present a personality report signed by the principal of the secondary school from which they were graduated and a statement as to habits and character from a responsible person. . . . In this way it is hoped to guard the entrance to this important service in the interest of pupils, the profession itself, and of those who buy the service.
>
> (*Annual Report of the Department of Education*, 1936, p. 8)

Besides instituting reforms to upgrade the quality of education, measures were also taken to extend educational services in the province. And such efforts were maintained even during the years when the depression reached its lowest point on the prairies, in 1936. In that year forty new school districts were organized in Alberta. As seen in Table 28, this trend, though accentuated by fluctuations, was basically maintained.

Table 28

Summary of School Statistics 1936-1957 *

Year	*Enrollment*	*Teachers*	*School Districts In Existence*	*No. of Divisions & Counties*
1936-37	167,950	6,130	3,926	22
1937-38	166,664	6,173	3,978	44
1938-39	163,241	6,176	3,992	46
1939-40	163,892	6,290	4,008	48
1940-41	163,425	6,388	4,005	50
1941-42	161,569	6,336	4,001	50
1942-43	157,506	6,490	4,008	49
1943-44	151,985	5,824	4,012	52
1944-45	152,532	5,945	4,022	54
1945-46	155,455	5,868	4,034	55
1946-47	155,517	5,818	4,041	57
1947-48	156,629	5,458	4,046	57
1948-49	160,821	5,779	3,950	57
1949-50	167,790	6,039	3,965	57
1950-51	173,969	6,788	3,979	58
1951-52	179,691	6,938	3,990	58
1952-53	189,081	7,138	4,008	58
1953-54	201,420	7,455	4,029	59
1954-55	212,705	8,274	4,049	59
1955-56	223,949	8,815	4,080	59
1956-57	234,397	9,273	4,130	59

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* (*Annual Report*, 1936-1957)

Paralleling the expansion of public school services was the attempt to extend opportunities in technical vocational training. Though the beginnings of this type of education in Alberta can be traced back to the federal Agricultural Assistance Act of 1913, no major developments in this field occurred until 1935. In that year the first composite high school was established—a school where matriculation, normal entrance, commercial, and technical students all attended. Also, in 1935 the Department of Education revised the entire high school curriculum. Two features of this curriculum were significant. One was the introduction of the "core curriculum" which all students had to take regardless of specialization, and the other was the institution of a common high school diploma instead of different ones for different patterns. But despite these and subsequent attempts, the composite high schools and the common diploma were not really successful in providing vocational training.

> In 1957 for example, according to a *Curriculum News Letter* . . . over 1,000 students were registered in Alberta in the grade X woodwork course, but in Grade XI the number was fewer than 200, and in Grade XII a mere 40 or so. Automotives students totalled over 600 in Grade X, about 150 in Grade XI, some 60 in Grade XII. Electricity recruited 500 in Grade X, perhaps 125 in Grade XI, possibly 25 in Grade XII. Data for other technical courses show equally precipitous declines. Neither regional nor composite high schools were really doing anything significant about technical vocational education.
>
> (Chalmers, 1967, pp. 214–215)

It is somewhat surprising that the ventures to promote technical vocational education showed such limited success. Evidently, labor demands for technical expertise were being adequately met by other institutions—e.g., Calgary's Institute of Technology.

Nor did the activity program enjoy much better success. In theory the students were expected to master the "skills" while solving, via the scientific method, relevant problems. To the general public this mastery was not evident. And Department of Education officials, after four years of experimentation with this program, were equally disenchanted. This perceived failure of the program led to the revision of 1940. In the revised program is the following statement descriptive of the whole plan:

> The Alberta Programme of Studies for the Elementary School is an activity programme, providing for the classroom application of activity procedures and techniques to curricular or instructional materials that have been organized partly as subjects and partly as an integrated sequence.
>
> (*Programme of Studies for the Elementary School*, 1940, p. 27)

And as the statement indicated, the Department of Education took more significant steps toward integrating subject matter in 1940 than it had taken four years earlier. Consequently, the number of subjects was reduced to reading (including literature), language (including speech training, spelling and writing), arithmetic, physical education, art, and music, while an integrated core was announced which included not only social studies and geography but also the content of elementary science and health. To explain and/or justify this change, the Department of Education included the following statement in the elementary program of studies:

> The content of any school programme may be grouped in two main ways: (1) in subjects or in subject–matter categories, and (2) in integrated units of work. In the first revision . . . both ways of grouping were followed. . . . In the present revision the process of integration has been carried a step further: the Social Studies have in turn been re–integrated with Elementary Science and Health by use of the general theme—Basic Human Needs.
>
> (*Programme of Studies for the Elementary School*, 1940, pp. 27–28)

As a result of this development, the elementary teacher had to employ the enterprise procedure.

The integrated program was based, as has previously been mentioned, upon the general themes of basic human needs. For both Divisions I and II, the scope of the program dealt with themes of social living. These themes are listed below:

1. Food
2. Clothing
3. Shelter
4. Work
5. Transportation and Communication
6. Recreation
7. Expression
8. Education
9. Government, Health and Protection

Both Divisions I and II were to deal with the broad problem of adjustments in ways of living to satisfy these needs. However, Division I was to examine the specific problem of "How We Adjust Ourselves to Our Basic Human Needs," while Division II was to study the question of "How Man Adjusts Himself in More Remote Environments to Satisfy His Basic Human Needs." As is apparent in the foregoing, the core of the program was "composed of activities and content drawn largely from fields of Social Studies, Science, and Health and integrated about the various themes of social living" (*Programme of Studies for the Elementary School*, 1940, p. 47).

No attempt was made to differentiate the various subjects in the program. Consequently, there was no specific outline for Elementary Science. Instead, it was believed that "in the treatment of enterprises, ample opportunities will be afforded for the introduction of science activities" (*Programme of Studies for the Elementary School*, 1940, p. 58). Little more concerning the content of the elementary science course was included in the 1940 program of studies. The limited number of activities that were suggested are included in the following excerpt:

> A few suggestions for science contributions to a cheery room atmosphere are the following: Colored leaves in autumn, mounted specimens, collections, weather calendar, a frame containing a colored enlargement of a bird–of–the–month, bird arrival and departure charts, a pictorial enlargement of a type–animal–of–the–month. Science models, friezes, and the like become an integral part of the integrated programme.
>
> (*Programme of Studies for the Elementary School*, 1940, p. 59)

In view of the above, it is evident that the quality of science instruction in Alberta schools was almost entirely contingent upon the teacher's ingenuity. With no outline to guide instruction, teachers often applied whatever science was needed in the enterprise at the moment. The result was spotty coverage of the curriculum.

And educational leaders were aware of such practical limitations of the enterprise approach. For instance, eight years after the introduction of the activity program in Alberta, the superintendents estimated that less than forty percent of the teachers were giving effect to the principles of progressive education. Nor were provincial officials ignorant of or unconcerned about these problems. Rather, committees were continuously exploring means of improving real or perceived deficiencies. Consequently, significant changes in the program were introduced after 1940. In 1947, for example, "Parallel Activities" were recommended for use of teachers who felt that the enterprise organization did not permit adequate and relevant science coverage. This issue was of signal importance because in the world at large science was becoming more and more important in defining man's relationship to his sociobiological environment. Consequently, a new program was developed that suggested problems most generally considered appropriate for each of the pupil groups. For Grade V and VI, for example, the topics were Living Things, Earth and the Universe, and Energy and Machines.

Though the topics and problems were optional, they did serve as a basic guide to the elementary teacher. Yet this too was soon considered inadequate for, shortly after "parallel activities" were developed, concern was expressed by teachers and administrators about the ineffectiveness of the science program. Being sensitive to these concerns and recognizing that regular evaluation was essential for any program to be "in tune" with the times, the Department of Education established an elementary science subcommittee in 1952.

This subcommittee, composed of superintendents, supervisors, and teachers, was requested to carry out a survey of the existing program and present its findings to the Elementary Curriculum Committee. Many classrooms were visited during the survey and teachers were encouraged to submit criticisms and recommendations. The results of the study were collected and tabulated by the subcommittee.

Of relevance to this study was the finding that teachers desired a science outline that would answer the following questions:

1. Can the outline be revised to indicate more specifically the concepts to be developed at each grade level?
2. What is the place of the following approaches in the teaching of elementary science:
    a. integrated (with enterprise)
    b. incidental (as opportunities present themselves)
    c. parallel activities (separate periods)?

With these and other questions in mind, the Curriculum Committee made a definite effort to provide teachers with concrete help in reference to the problems they had experienced. The result was the compilation and publication of Bulletin 2B, Science (Interim Edition) in 1955. Again, the topics were organized under three main categories—Living Things, Earth and the Universe, and Energy and Machines. However, unlike its predecessor this revision set forth in detail the body of content to be covered. In addition to the detailed list of topics to be studied, the '55 Bulletin included commentaries that indicated which approach (integrated, incidental, or parallel activities) was best suited for each unit and also a list of "Suggested Activities" to complement the basic outline. Following very minor modifications, this Interim Edition was adopted as the official science program in 1957. Ironically, a few months after the completion of this revision, an international scientific event which astonished the entire world made this revised science program appear obsolete. In the wake of the reaction to this event—Sputnik—curriculum designers scurried back to their drawing boards.

Analysis of Selected Major Curriculum Reforms —1936–1957

In 1936 a new organizational structure was introduced in Alberta schools. Grades I–VI were designated as the Elementary School, Grades VII–IX the Intermediate School, and Grades X–XII the High School. The Elementary School was further divided into two divisions—Division I (Grades I, II, and III) and Division II (Grades IV, V, and VI). It was believed that this organization would provide teachers with a greater opportunity to meet the needs of pupils.

At the same time the reorganization was implemented, an activity program in Grades I–VI was introduced. The basic principles upon which it was based are listed below:

> Learning is not something that a child "gets" but something he "does."
>
> School learnings embrace not merely the knowledge and skills of the traditional school subjects but also many appreciations, attitudes, ideals and incidental habits.
>
> It is both desirable and feasible to correlate many different subject areas and to consolidate them in social studies or social activities and experiences.
>
> (Newland, 1936, pp. 96-97)

The content of the program was grouped under two general categories—subjects and enterprises. This made it possible for the teacher to use either the enterprise procedure or to present the material of the outlines in a series of formal lessons. Since science was designated as one of the subjects, a course guide was necessary. The one that was developed for the 1936 program reflected the influence of Gerald S. Craig in that it attempted to operationalize his conception of the function of science. In Craig's view, science was important to the whole of general education in the sense that its laws, generalizations, and principles have vital and utilitarian meaning to individuals regarding the numerous questions that confront them daily. Such were the guidelines that the curriculum designers kept in mind when they developed the 1936 outline. For this reason, science instruction became eminently suited to the activity program.

Four years later, however, science lost its identity as a separate subject. The rationale for this decision was that,

> There should be no separation of science from health and social studies in the elementary grades. Elementary science material should be introduced as a natural part of a major socialized activity, and should make its contribution to general educational objectives in intimate relationship to other areas of learning.
>
> (*Programme of Studies for the Elementary School*, Bulletin *II*, 1947, p. 97)

Though this revision introduced a great deal of flexibility to the elementary science program, it generated considerable opposition for its failure to provide teachers with any guidelines. In response to this reaction "Parallel Activities" were included in the 1947 revision. These "Activities" were a list of topics grouped under three major headings: Living Things, The Earth and the Universe, Energy and Machines. For the most part, the list was a condensation of the 1936 outline. Only in the last area, Energy and Machines, were there topics that were not included in the preceding course guide. And these, it should be added, were relatively few in number. But even this proved to be inadequate and so in 1957 a detailed science program, based on the 1955 Interim Edition, was officially adopted. Again, both the Interim Edition and the subsequent final draft were merely relatively sophisticated elaborations of the preceding guide. In effect, it can legitimately be claimed that the Grade VI science revisions of 1947, 1955, and 1957 were but successive appendices to the outline adopted in 1936. And since these "appendices" were basically developed to quell criticisms leveled at the integrated approach that was introduced in 1940, the need for examining their antecedent political and socioeconomic factors, in a manner analogous to that employed in previous chapters, was obviated. Nor were these the only instances when, fundamentally, a "singular cause" exerted a distinguishable influence on the science curriculum. In fact, in the same year that the latest "appendix" was implemented, an international event occurred that gave North American educators reason to question the adequacy of their programs, particularly in the field of the physical sciences.

Political, Economic, and Sociocultural Factors—Their Implications for Separate Schools, 1936-1957

In line with the objectives of the progressive program, the responsibility of the school was not confined to promoting intellectual, emotional, and physical growth—rather, it was also responsible for facilitating the attainment of much nobler aims. These were:

1. To direct children in experiencing a realistic understanding and appreciation of human relations; and
2. To permit children to participate in improving human relations.

(*Programme of Studies for the Elementary School*, 1936, p. 110)

Considering the above, it is no surprise that the educational philosophy embodying these ideals was considered by the United

Farmers of Alberta and, subsequently, endorsed by the Social Credit government. Both parties sought to realize—at least in Alberta—similar ends. For example, delegate democracy, referendum, recall, economic parity, and harmonious social relations were explicit or implied objectives of both radical movements. Congruence of "ideals," however, was not the "sufficient condition" that precipitated Alberta's innovative educational venture. Other interrelated factors—"necessary conditions"—were equally instrumental in facilitating the first major curriculum change in the province. These other factors included political turmoil, social change, intellectual unrest, and economic distress. A similar pattern was apparent in education. Consequently, in the areas specified people were ready for change.

The most vocal demands for educational change came from proponents of progressive education. Advocates of this educational philosophy had proposals for resolving a comprehensive range of problems and had definitive ideas about the kind of pedagogical techniques that would close the gap between school and life. To their credit was the fact that their "prophets" and "administrators" were not carried away by idealistic principles. Rather, their orientation was sufficiently pragmatic to ensure that every effort was made to incorporate into the new program the most advanced psychological and sociological principles. Adopted in 1936, the new course of studies did much to transform Alberta's educational system. That it contributed to the resolution of the broader social issues is doubtful.

What is not in doubt is that disenchantment with the political and economic *status quo* of the "Thirties" cut across ethnic/religious lines. Catholics and Protestants alike felt the impact of the depression and were receptive to the ideals of humanitarian reform implicit in "progressive education." But while supportive of the social reconstructionist ideals, the Church hierarchy and Catholic theoreticians condemned the fundamental tenets underlying the progressive philosophy of education (see pp. 173-178, Chapter VI). This condemnation, though issues from the higher echelons of the Catholic organization, was not generally shared by the practicing teachers. For that matter, few Catholic educators had a profound understanding of the basic conflict that existed between Catholicism and progressive ideology. Consequently, in such pragmatic matters as methodology, pedagogy, and the psychology and sociology of learning, their reaction to progressive philosophy was no different than that manifested by their counterparts in the public system. Further, since 1892 all schools in the Territories (and later in Alberta) had to follow the course guides issued by the Department of Education. Hence, in this very important area, historically, neither Encyclicals nor the opinions of minions had any bearing on defining the provincial school program.

On the surface it appeared that the reforms of 1936 would not alter the legal or the ethical rights of the Roman Catholic separate schools. The former were unassailable since these rights were defined and entrenched in Section 93 of the British North America Act, 1867; Chapter 29 of the Ordinances of the Northwest Territories, 1901; and Section 17 of the Alberta Act, 1905. The relevant sections from these pieces of legislation, in whole or in part, are cited below.

Section 93 of the British North America Act, 1867 reads:

> In and for each Province the Legislature may make Laws in relation to Education, subject and according to the following Provisions:
>
> 1. Nothing in any such Law shall *prejudicially* effect any *Right or Privilege* with respect to Denominational Schools which any Class of Persons have by Law in the Province at the Union;
> 2. All the Powers, Privileges, and Duties at the Union by Law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the Separate Schools and School Trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic Subjects shall be and the same are hereby extended to the Dissentient Schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic Subjects in Quebec;
> 3. When in any Province a System of Separate or Dissentient Schools *exists by Law at the Union or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province*, an Appeal shall lie to the Governor General in Council from any Act or Decision of any Provincial Authority affecting any Right or Privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic Minority of the Queen's Subjects in relation to Education;
> 4. In case any such Provincial Law as from time to time seems to the Governor General in Council requisite for the due Execution of the Provisions of this Section is not made, or in case any Decision of the Governor General in Council on any Appeal under this Section is not duly executed by the proper Provincial Authority in that behalf, then and in every such case, and as far only as the circumstances of each case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial Laws for the due Execution of the Provisions of this Section and of any Decision of the Governor General in Council under this Section.

Reaffirming the rights and liabilities of separate school districts is Section 45 of the Ordinances of the Northwest Territories, 1901. This section states that,

> After the establishment of a separate school district under the provisions of this Ordinance such *separate school district* and the board thereof shall possess and exercise all rights, powers, privileges and be subject to the same liabilities and method of government as is herein provided in respect of public school districts.

In 1905 the education section of the British North America Act, 1867, was changed for Alberta by Section 17 of The Alberta Act. Here it specifies that,

> Section 93 of the British North America Act, 1867 shall apply to the said province, with the substitution for paragraph (1) of the said s.93 of the following paragraph:
>
> (1) nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to separate schools which any class of persons have at the date of the passing of this Act, under the terms of Chapters 29 and 30 of the Ordinances of the Northwest Territories, passed in the year 1901, or with respect to religious instruction in any public or separate school as provided for in the said ordinances;
>
> (2) in the appropriation by the Legislature or distribution by the Government of the province of any moneys for the support of schools organized and carried on in accordance with the said Chapter 29 or any Act passed in amendment thereof, or in substitution thereof, there shall be no discrimination against schools or any class described in the said Chapter 29;
>
> (3) where the expression "by-law" is employed in paragraph (3) of the said Section 93, it shall be held to mean the law as set out in the said Chapters 29 and 30, and where the expression "at the Union" is employed, in the said paragraph (3) it shall be held to mean the date at which this Act comes into force.

The intent of the cited legislation was to give separate school districts rights and privileges identical to those granted to the public school districts. And this right appeared to be reaffirmed by the Social Credit government. For though the government amended the 1931 School Act, the section granting "rights and privileges" to separate school districts was retained in the 1937 edition. The relevant section (Section 6) reads as follows:

> 6. The minority of any electors in any district, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, may establish a separate school therein; and in such case the electors establishing such Protestant or Roman Catholic separate schools shall be liable only to assessments of such rates as they impose upon themselves in respect thereof and any person who is legally assessed or assessable for a public school in the said district shall not be liable to assessment for any separate school therein.

While the above section reiterated the rights granted to Catholic and Protestant minorities in the British North America Act, Sections 27 of the 1931 (and 1937) Act and 231 of the 1936 Act virtually were portents of a trend that in time would, in rural areas, seriously erode the effective exercise of the said rights. The relevant parts of these sections are cited below.

> 27. If in any area there exists a public school district and a separate school district and it is resolved by the electors of each of such school districts at a public meeting of such electors respectively called for the purpose of considering the question that it is expedient that such districts should be dissolved for the purpose of the union of the same and the establishment of such area as a public school district, the Minister may, by order, notice of which shall be published in *The Alberta Gazette*, dissolve such existing districts and establish such an area as a public school district with such name as he may decide upon;
>
> 231.-(1) Where the conditions prevailing are such that it appears advisable in the interests of education so to do, or if it is so requested by the boards of trustees of the majority of school districts in a proposed division, the Minister may by order constitute a school division consisting of any number of rural public school districts not being districts wholly or partially included in a consolidated district.

Note that while Section 6 asserts "rights and privileges" to separate schools, Sections 27 and 231 unequivocally decree that if a union of a public school district and a separate school district should be realized or if the Minister should constitute a division of any number of rural school districts, the resulting administrative units will be a public district or a public school division, respectively. That a separate school district would result from the union of a public district and a separate district or that the Minister would constitute a separate school division is precluded by the same Act that reaffirmed the rights of separate school districts.

In fairness, when the large administrative unit was inaugurated in 1936, some effort was made to protect minority school rights. To this end the legislators, through the enactment of a section of the School Act, sought to ensure denominational rights where Protestant or Catholic school districts were included in a division in which the respective districts were in the minority. "The Act empowered a district in a division to demand the appointment to their district school of a teacher of the religious faith of the majority of the ratepayers in the district" (Hochstein, 1954, p. 97). What was overlooked, though, was that in many divisions Catholic public schools would be closed and the children from these schools would be bussed to larger centers where they would no longer be educated in a "denominational context."

It is somewhat ironic that the administrative reforms implemented to ensure equality of educational opportunity for rural students had the opposite effect for a considerable number of Catholic rural children. For by continuing to restrict the parameters of the separate school districts to the size of the *nominal* public school districts (the Minister could not constitute a separate school division), separate school districts were compelled to operate under serious financial and attendant educational disadvantages as compared to public school divisions and counties.

Concerned about the trends in school administration and the fact that "Catholic school assessment was more and more committed to neutral public support" (Hochstein, 1954, p. 98), leading Catholic educators in the province sought to protect "minority education rights" by coordinated and concerted efforts. For this purpose they organized the "Alberta Catholic Education Association" in 1947. At this time "there seemed reason to fear that minority rights would be endangered, for Catholic schools were being closed despite the wishes and protests of the ratepayers" (Hochstein, 1954, p. 98)—schools in the Provost and Killam divisions were cases in point. Consequently, representations were made to the Premier and the Minister of Education with the result that when the 1952 School Act was passed it contained all the provisions protecting minority rights that had been included in the Alberta Act of 1905 and reaffirmed in 1937. However, there was still no provision for constituting a separate school division or legislation which would enable separate school districts to break out of the four mile by four mile straitjacket—the basis for separate school district establishment. As a result the large unit of administration affected Roman Catholic separate and Catholic public schools in different ways.

To urban areas, or areas where the majority of ratepayers were Roman Catholic, the large administrative unit brought the same advantages that it conferred upon the public school systems in general. St. Albert and Morinville illustrate these advantages. But in other areas where the majority of ratepayers were not Catholic, the large administrative unit had a negative impact. Unlike their public counterparts, the separate districts could not expand their boundaries. Nor did these districts have the right to collect taxes beyond the boundaries of the original four-by-four. Added to these limitations was the fact that there were no provisions for transfer of assessment within a division to the public or separate school according to the religious affiliation of the property owner. In such cases separate schools had to charge a fee to be able to provide instruction to the pupils of the division who wished to attend these Catholic schools. Though in many cases the Division paid these fees, this arrangement depended on mutual agreement and consequently had no legal basis.

Despite such restrictive limitations the separate schools not only survived but also showed marked signs of vitality and growth. Even when the depression reached its lowest point a new school was established—a testament to unwavering commitment. In the years that followed this commitment was maintained with the result that between 1936 and 1953 schools were opened at Fort McMurray (1936), Fort Saskatchewan (1938), Picardville (1945), Fairview (1948), Spirit River (1948), Manning (1949), Peace River (1952), Jasper Place (1953), Red

Deer (1953), St. Laurent (1953), and Duvernay (1953). And in 1957 alone nine Roman Catholic separate school districts were established in public school districts of the same names. These are listed below:

1. Camrose No. 60
2. Kleskun Hill No. 61
3. Equity No. 62
4. MacHenry No. 63
5. Cold Lake No. 64
6. Provost No. 65
7. Hinton No. 66
8. Grand Center No. 67
9. Beaverlodge No. 68

And while new schools were being built, those already established were expanding their facilities and their services. One index of this growth is the increase in the proportion of students enrolled in Catholic separate schools relative to the total enrollment in the province. To illustrate, in 1936 the student enrollment in Catholic separate schools constituted approximately three per cent of the total student enrollment in the province. By 1957 this figure rose to approximately nine per cent.

Given the conditions under which Catholics had to operate, such expansion in the delivery of "educational services" was nothing less than commendable. This success was clearly the result of cooperative and diligent effort. By 1947 the Alberta Catholic Education Society was organized for the purpose of articulating Catholic concerns and coordinating efforts to rectify educational and financial inequities. This association did yeoman work for the Catholic community until 1962. A consideration of the organization, objectives, and work of the association follows.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ALBERTA CATHOLIC EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

> There are many objects of great value to man which cannot be attained by unconnected individuals, but must be attained, if at all, by association.
>
> Daniel Webster

By 1905 Alberta's educational unit of local government, the school district, was already well established. According to the 1906 Annual Report of the Department of Education there were 591 public, seven separate, and four unorganized school districts in existence (*Annual Report of the Department of Education of the Province of Alberta*, 1906, p. 19). In the years that followed, "The formation of school districts kept pace with settlement and the new Department of Education and the [public and separate] School Trustees assumed a heavy responsibility with respect to education" (Weidenhamer, 1971, p. 17). Their diligence and dedication is evidenced by the fact that by 1935 the number of school districts in existence had increased to 3,492. This included 61 consolidations and 18 separate districts.

In the following year the reorganization of rural education was secured with the passage of legislation which made the setting-up of large units possible. Sixty to eighty small rural districts were amalgamated to form a large administrative unit under the jurisdiction of one elected Divisional Board. And though by law no change was made in minority rights, the framework within which these laws functioned was so modified that in practice the position of the Catholic schools in Alberta differed markedly from that which existed prior to 1936. For example, although the legislators sought to protect denominational rights (districts in a division were empowered to demand the appointment to their district school of a teacher of the religious faith of the majority of ratepayers) they overlooked the fact that in many

THE SOCIETIES ACT

We, the undersigned, hereby declare that we desire to form a Society under the Societies Act 1942 and that --

1. The name of the Society is:

   THE ALBERTA CATHOLIC EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

2. The address of the Association is:

   St. Joseph's College, University of Alberta,
   Edmonton, Alberta

3. The objects of the Association are:

   (1) To promote all phases of Christian education;

   (2) To study educational problems in the light of Christian philosophy;

   (3) To strive towards the spiritual improvement of its members;

   (4) To promote understanding among educators, parents and students;

   (5) To establish and maintain libraries and to publish or cause to be published under the supervision and control of the Association any publications, pamphlets or periodicals as shall be in keeping with and not inconsistent with object number (1) herein;

   (6) To direct, manage, supervise and control the business, property and funds of the Association.

Dated the 31st day of March 1947.

NAME	OCCUPATION	ADDRESS
Brother Mark	University Lecturer	St. Joseph's College, Edmonton
[illegible]	Teacher	10734 - 110 St. Edmonton
B. V. Gaudet, o.m.i.	Rector at St. John's College	[illegible]
J. Cormack	Barrister	11009 - 99 Ave Edmonton
L. Hickey, S.J.	Teacher	9906 - 110th St. Edmonton
J. V. Corrigan	Teacher	1818 - 1st St. E. Calgary

WITNESS:

NAME	OCCUPATION	ADDRESS
A. O'Mahony, S.J.	Teacher	9906 - 110 St. Edmonton
T. G. Mallon, C.S.B.	Teacher	1818 - 1st St. E. Calgary

PROVINCE OF ALBERTA

CANADA

Certificate of Incorporation

I Hereby Certify that

- THE ALBERTA CATHOLIC EDUCATION ASSOCIATION -

is this day incorporated under The Societies Act, being Chapter 245 of the Revised Statutes of Alberta, 1942.

Given under my hand and seal of office at Edmonton, Alberta, this 2nd day of April A.D. 1947.

Gazette to J. [illegible],
[illegible] Ave.,
Registe[illegible]on, Alta.

E.R.A.
Registrar of Joint Stock Companies

divisions Catholic public schools would be closed and the children attending these schools would be bussed to centralized secular schools. Also, as centralized schools were established, more and more Catholic assessment was directed to the public schools (Hochstein, 1954, p. 98). Concern about these trends and possible negative effects of pending legislation on Catholic schools, prompted the leaders of Catholic education to organize a provincial association for the purpose of protecting established rights and gaining parity with the public systems. This association, formed in 1947, was the "Alberta Catholic Education Association." The application to form this society under the Societies Act was dated March 31, 1947. Two days later, The Certificate of Incorporation was granted (see the previous pages).

The organization and incorporation of the association was, as the introductory quotation suggested, the result of cooperative effort of individuals working in association. Yet individuals do not engage in collective, directed action spontaneously and simultaneously. Rather concerted social action directed towards specific ends demands efficient execution of a range of leadership roles. A useful typology of the types of leadership required to mobilize cooperative collective behavior was formulated by Dawson and Gettys.

Agitator—	The agitator may stir people by what he says; he may attract the attention of people by his dynamic and energetic behavior; he may incite individuals by verbal articulation and by overt behavior.
Prophet—	As a leader, the prophet has the feeling that he has special knowledge concerning the undesirable situation and of what is necessary to remedy it.
Reformer—	Functioning in the same period and reacting to the same basic condition is the reformer. However, his reaction is different. "It is conceived by him to be his function to lead in attacks on specific evils."
Statesman—	As the movement progresses, it becomes organized around its leaders and a program—that is, it develops a structure. The leaders of this stage, the statesman type, formulate policies and propose measures which will realize the interests of the

> affected group. Generally speaking, the statesman mobilizes participants for action.
>
> *Administrator*— The successful leader in the final stage, the administrator, translates the policy of the movement into action and is responsible for getting the organization to operate effectively with respect to its policy. If conditions are favorable the movement, under the guidance of the administrator, results in the establishment of an institutional form.
>
> (Dawson & Gettys, 1948, pp. 691-709)

In a sense such leadership roles were assumed and executed by the founders of the ACEA. That the individuals who took on this responsibility were relatively few in number was evidenced by the fact that the executive officers remained quite constant during the years of the association's existence. (Refer to the chart on the following page.) Among this select group—an individual who at one time or another was 'active' in a number of the leadership roles—was the Right Reverend Father MacLellan. In the words of Mr. Francis O'Hara, Superintendent of the Edmonton Catholic Schools, Father MacLellan was the "driving force" behind the ACEA. Even more emphatic about the "pride–of–place" MacLellan held in the evolution and the operation of the association is R. D. Gruenwald, former President of the ACEA. Gruenwald maintains that the Alberta Catholic Education Association was virtually the embodiment of Father MacLellan's visions, aspirations, and dedication. In light of such acknowledgements, a concise biographical note about the latter seems in order. (The information that follows has been extracted from the *Western Catholic*.)

> Father MacLellan was born at Saint Rose, Nova Scotia, and received his early education there. He later attended St. Francis Xavier College, Antigonish, where he graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Shortly after graduation he went overseas as a private in the Canadian Army and saw service in England, first as a signaller and then as an instructor, with the rank of Sergeant, at the Khaki College at Rippon, Yorkshire. Returning from overseas he took up teaching and was principal of the High School at Eston, Saskatchewan.
>
> In 1922 Father MacLellan entered St. Peter's Seminary, London, Ontario, where he made his courses in theology. On ordination in 1926 he was named assistant at St. Joseph's College and a few months later was appointed Editor of the *Western Catholic* and manager of the Great Western Press. At the same time he was professor of history at St. Joseph's seminary in Edmonton.

Alberta Catholic Education Association (1947-1966)

YEAR	PRESIDENT	1ST V. PRESIDENT	2ND V. PRESIDENT	PROVINCE SECRETARY	TREASURER	COUNCELLERS
1947	Rev. J.A. MacLellan	Prof. J. Scott	Rev. Brother Mark	Mrs. I. Hawkes (Sec. Pro. Tem.)	Mrs. Grace Brunton	Rev. Dr. P. O'Reilly Rev. Father J. Corrigan
1948	Rev. J.A. MacLellan	Mr. C.C. Connolly	J. Cormack	Mrs. I. Hawkes	J. McAdams	
1949	C.C. Connolly	J. Cormack	J.L. Picard	Mrs. I. Hawkes	T. McAdams	
1950	C.C. Connolly	J. Cormack	J.L. Picard	Rev. J.A. MacLellan	E. McAdams	
1951	J.A. MacDougall	J. Cormack	J.L. Picard	Rev. J.A. MacLellan	R.J. Collins	
						EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
1952	Rev. J. Smith	J. Cormack	J.L. Picard	Rev. J.A. MacLellan	R.J. Collins	Mrs. I. Hawkes
1953	R.D. Gruenwald	Rev. C. Kinderwater	J.L. Picard	Rev. J.A. MacLellan	R.J. Collins	Mrs. I. Hawkes
1954	Rev. C. Kinderwater	Frank Byrne	J.L. Picard	Rev. J.A. MacLellan	R.J. Collins	Rev. Mother Marie
1955	Rev. C. Kinderwater	Frank Byrne	J.L. Picard	Rev. J.A. MacLellan	R.J. Collins	Rev. Mother Marie
1956	Frank Byrne	Rev. Brother Aloysius	V. Cooney	Rev. J.A. MacLellan	R.J. Collins	Rev. Mother Marie
1957	Rt. Rev. J.A. MacLellan	V. Cooney	Mrs. D. Melton		R.J. Collins	
1958	V. Cooney	Mrs. D. Melton	Rev. Brother Aloysius	Rt. Rev. J.A. MacLellan	R.J. Collins	Rev. Mother Virginia
1959	Rev. B. Cr[illegible]	Mrs. D. Melton	Rev. Brother Aloysius	Rt. Rev. J.A. MacLellan	R.J. Collins	Rev. Mother Virginia
1960	Rev. Brother Prudent	Mrs. D. Melton	Wm. C. Lerner	Rt. Rev. J.A. MacLellan	R.J. Collins	Rev. Mother Virginia
1961	Rev. Brother Prudent	Mrs. D. Melton	Wm. C. Lerner	Rt. Rev. J.A. MacLellan	R.J. Collins	Rev. Mother Virginia
1962			ACEA CONVENTION POSTPONED			

* In 1948, "Councellors" were replaced by "Bishops' Representatives." In the sources examined, the author could only identify the members of this group for four of the fifteen years that the A.C.E.A. was in existence. For this reason, a column for this section of the executive was not included.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

> When St. Joseph's College opened in 1927 Father MacLellan was named Chaplain. . . . For a number of years previous to 1940, along with other duties, he was a teacher at Edmonton's St. Joseph's High School.
>
> In September of 1940 he enlisted in the Canadian Army as Chaplain and spent the first few months of his active service with the Pictou Highlanders in Nova Scotia. Proceeding overseas he was named Chaplain of the Loyal Edmonton Regiment, having also in his charge the Catholics of the P.P.C.L.I. and the Seaforth Highlanders of Canada. He went to the Mediterranean with the first Division and was in the landing in Sicily on July 10, 1943. He went through all the bitter fighting in Sicily and Italy. . . . Returning to England with a band of officers sent back to take part in the second invasion, he was given the rank of Major. . . . Shortly before the conclusion of the war Father MacLellan returned to Canada and was named Principal Chaplain for M.D. 6 at Halifax, with the new rank of Lieut. Colonel. When H. Brigadier MacGillivray, Principal Chaplain, was overseas in 1945, Father MacLellan took over his duties in the Ottawa Office. After a year's service at Halifax, he received his discharge and returned to St. Joseph's College, Edmonton.
>
> [Following] his return to Edmonton, Father MacLellan . . . [assumed] an accumulation of duties, including those as College Chaplain, Military Hospital Chaplain, President and later Provincial Secretary of the Alberta Catholic Education Association, Diocesan Director of the CWL., Chaplain of the Edmonton's Lions Club, Chaplain of the Kingsway Legion and Canadian Legion Provincial Chaplain.
>
> (*Western Catholic*, December 13, 1950, p. 1)
>
> The monsignor was chaplain at Edmonton's St. Joseph's convent from September 1961, until December, 1979 when he became ill. [After a long illness he died on January 21, 1981 at the age of 89.]
>
> (*Western Catholic Reporter*, January 26, 1981, p. 11)

The death of the respected priest was sincerely mourned by both the Catholic and non–Catholic communities. And with good reason, for wherever he had turned his grace was felt. Ernie Charman, the 1981 district secretary for Edmonton's branch of the Canadian Cancer Society commented on this quality: "[Father MacLellan] boosted everybody's morale, no matter where he went" (*Western Catholic Reporter*, January 26, 1981, p. 10). And in his work he manifested the same Christian characteristic, that is, he engaged in causes that transcended the material or psychological interests of the "self." Most important of his labors relevant to the subject of this manuscript was his unreserved involvement in the ACEA. For in addition to his work as organizer, President, and Provincial Secretary, Father MacLellan also sustained the "life–line" of the association as editor of the ACEA *Bulletin*. The significance of the *Bulletin* must not be underestimated, for it was the principal unifying force of the loosely structured organization. Illustrative of this unifying role is the editor's article, "Importance of ACEA," in Vol. 1, No. 2 of the 1947 issue of the *Bulletin*. Seminal excerpts are cited below.

> All of us who are enrolled under the banner of the Alberta Catholic Education Association should try to become thoroughly cognizant of the fact that this organization is not 'just another organization' but one of the most important to which we as Catholics can belong. Leaders of Catholic thought, both clerical and lay, over a period of a year, made a careful study of Alberta Catholic Education problems, and found that, if these problems were to be adequately met, Catholics everywhere in the province would have to organize for study work and for united action. In April last, the ACEA came into being. . . . In the preamble to the Constitution, the objects of the Association are set forth. . . . (The objects of the Association are listed on the application form of the Alberta Catholic Education Association)
>
> Already considerable study work . . . has been done, and it is fairly agreed that our biggest problem is the apathy of many Catholics in the matter of Catholic educational problems.
>
> The Alberta Catholic Education Association will succeed in the measure that the Catholic people of this province will give it their support. It is not an organization for teachers alone or for parents alone, it is an organization for all teachers, parents, and all who are interested in the future of Catholic education, in the future of the Church and souls.
>
> (ACEA *Bulletin*, September 25, 1947, p. 2)

Also contributing to the 'solidarity' of the Association were the annual conferences held during the years 1947 to 1961. The meeting of Catholics from diverse parts of the province fostered fellowship, commonality, and a sense of unity. And while accomplishing the foregoing it gave occasion for the airing of views and the discussion of issues relevant to Catholic education. With respect to the latter, three convention programs indicate the scope of topics of concern to the convention delegates and the Catholic community.

A more accurate reflection of the interests of the ACEA members are the articles in issues of the association's *Bulletin*. A representative list is included in Table 29.

As seen from Table 29, the range of topics dealt with in issues of the ACEA *Bulletin* was indeed broad. Yet such comprehensive scope did not detract the editor's nor the members' attention from the contemporary major issues that were (or were perceived as) challenges to Christian and minority education. Four of principal importance to the Catholic system were: (1) the status of Catholic education; (2) the educational administrative structure; (3) educational financing; and (4) progressive education. Editorials and articles in the ACEA *Bulletin* pertaining to these topics are presented (condensed or verbatim) on the pages that follow.

Program

A. C. E. A. CONVENTION

THURSDAY APRIL 21st, 1949

MORNING SESSION

9.30 a.m. Registration.
10.00 a.m. Chairman: Rev. J. A. MacLellan.
"O Canada"
Opening Prayer and Remarks—His Excellency Archbishop J. H. MacDonald, D.D.
Greetings: Mr. A. A. O'Brien, Supt. Sep. Schools.
Mrs. C. D. Kelly, Diocesan Pres. C.W.L.
Mr. T. J. Reilly, Grand Knight, Council 1184.
Speaker: His Excellency Most Rev. Maurice Baudoux, Bishop of St. Paul, Alberta.
11.30 a.m. Short Business Session.

AFTERNOON SESSION

2.00 p.m. Chairman: Mr. John Cormack. Jr., LL.B., Edmonton.
Speakers: Mr. F. Swan, Sec'y Dept. of Education;
Subject: "The New Administrative Set-up".
His Excellency Most Rev. Maurice Baudoux, D.D.
Discussion: Rev. Fr. J. P. Ehmann, Wainwright.
Mr. J. Pilon, Edmonton.
Mr. P. N. Gans, Fairview, Alberta.
3.30 p.m. Short Recess: 10 minutes.
4.00 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Paul, Edmonton, Alta. Subject: "The Catholic School System in Scotland".
Mr. J. A. MacDougall, Edmonton, Alberta.
Subject: "Catechism Teaching Methods".
4.45 p.m. Short Business Session.

Eighth Annual Convention

AT LETHBRIDGE, ALTA.

Wednesday and Thursday, April 21 and 22, 1954

(under the distinguished patronage of His Excellency Most Rev. F. P. Carroll, D.D., Bishop of Calgary)

Wednesday, April 21

9 a.m.—Registration.
Opening Session

10:00—Chairman: Mr. R. D. Gruenwald, Pres. A.C.E.A.
"O Canada".
Opening Prayer and Remarks:
Most Rev. F. P. Carroll, D.D.,
Bishop of Calgary.

10:20 to 12 noon:
All delegates to Convention will be divided into groups of about 10 or 12 for workshop discussions under separate leaders with topics as follows: Improving our Separate Schools, Improving Religious Instruction in Rural Areas, and How to put Christ Back Into Our Schools.

12 noon to 2 p.m.: Lunch.

AFTERNOON SESSION

2 p.m.—Continue Workshop to 4 p.m. and longer if deemed necessary.

EVENING SESSION

8 p.m.—Chairman: Mr. R. D. Gruenwald.
Panel.
Topic: Is modern education undermining Christianity?

9 p.m.—Most Rev. H. Routhier, D.D., Vicar Apostolic of Grouard.
Subject: Christian Education and summary of panel.

Thursday, April 22

8:30 a.m.—Mass at St. Patrick's Church.
Sermon: Very Rev. J. Q. Killen on Vocations.

10:30 a.m.—At St. Joseph's School.
Speaker: Mr. Allen Cullen.
Topic: Evaluation and General Report on Workshops.

11:30—Resolutions.

12:30 noon—Luncheon (St. Patrick's Church Basement).

2:00 p.m.—At St. Joseph's School.
Business Session.
Chairman: Rev. J. A. MacLellan, Prov. Secy.

1. Resolutions (cont'd).
2. Treasurer's Report.
3. Election of Officers.

The National Anthem.

Final Prayer.

Program

THE ALBERTA CATHOLIC EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

Fifteenth Annual Convention

Camrose, Alberta

THURSDAY, APRIL 6, 1961

Morning (opening) Session

9:00 a.m.—Registration

9:30 a.m.—Chairman: Rev. Brother Prudent, F.S.C., Edmonton

1. O Canada
2. Opening Prayer and Remarks: Most Rev. J. H. MacDonald Archbishop of Edmonton
3. Greetings:
   Mrs. R. Carriere, Diocesan President, C.W.L., Edmonton
   Mr. W. J. Lerner, Principal, St. Patrick's School, Camrose
   Mr. C. H. Merta, State Deputy, Knights of Columbus, Red Deer
   Rev. F. MacDonald, P.P., Camrose
4. Main Address: Dr. G. Cormack, Edmonton. Subject: "Areas of Responsibility in Education".
5. Buzz Session (30 minutes) with topics allocated as follows:
   Group A—Pope Pius XI in his encyclical "The Christian Education of Youth" states that Education belongs to the Church. Is this true absolutely? What about the claims of the State?
   Group B — How much is it true to say that the rights of parents are a) anterior to the rights of the State; b) inviolable; c) recognized by Civil Law; d) protected by the Church?
   Group C — "Education belongs to the Church and to the State though in different ways". What are the different ways? Elaborate.
   Group D — Pius XI in Encyclical said the "Subject of Education is the "whole man". In what does His Holiness differ from the neutral school philosophy of Education?

11:30 a.m.—Reports of Groups.

Afternoon Session

1:30 p.m—Mr. W. J. Lerner, Camrose

1. Opening Prayer and Remarks: Most Rev. H. Routhier, o.m.i., Vicar Apostolic, Grouard.
2. Speaker: Mr. V. Dantzer, LL.B. Edmonton. Subject: The New "Foundation" Legislation.
3. General Discussion: 30 Minutes.
4. New and proposed Separate School districts — progress report: Rev. Fr. C. Kinderwater, o.m.i., Edmonton.
   Short Business Session
5. Discussion—Is Catholic Junior College Feasible?

3:30 p.m.—Chairman: Rt. Rev. J. A. MacLellan, D. P., Prov. Secy. A.C.E.A.

1. Treasurer's Report
2. Resolutions
3. Election of Officers

National Anthem Final Prayer

Table 29

Article Topic	*Date*	*Vol.*	*No.*
Excerpts from Pius XI's Encyclical, "Christian Education of Youth"	25 Sept. 1947	1	2
"Survey Made" (Information sought regarding Catholic Schools absorbed or being absorbed into divisional units)	2 Mar. 1948	1	3
"Education and Democracy" (Talk to graduands at St. Joseph's College, University of Alberta, March 6, 1949 by Rev. Dr. A. J. MacDonald)	2 April 1949	2	3
"Parenthood and the Teacher" (This article first appeared in *The Sower* in June, 1933. It was written by Rev. Ferdinand Valentine, O.P.)	5 April 1950	3	3
"Minority School Rights" (Editorial).	15 Feb. 1951	4	3
"Discipline in the New Curriculum" By J. Woof, Supt. of Schools, Foam Lake, Sask.	20 Feb. 1952	5	3
"Excerpts from the Alberta School Act" (Parts, Sections, or Sub-Sections of the Alberta School Act, 1952, Relating Directly or Indirectly to Catholic Schools)	26 Feb. 1953	6	3
"God, the Family, the State in Education" (A Brief submitted by the Alberta Catholic Education Association to the Standing Committee on Agriculture, Colonization, Immigration, and Education; Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, March 11, 1954)	5 April 1954	7	4
"Crime Comics" (How Canada has dealt with THE COMIC BOOK situation—through legislation—by E. D. Fulton, M.P., in the U.S. publication, *Religious Instruction*)	15 Mar. 1955	8	3
"Progressive Methods Discussed"	22 Mar. 1965	9	4
"Role of a Catholic College Within a University" by Rev. P. Pocock, Archbishop of Winnipeg	15 April 1957	10	4
"Ontario Catholic Schools Discussed" (C.C. Conference *Bulletin*)	30 Mar. 1958	11	4
"A Good Elementary School Library" (Talk by Sister Mary Celia, S.S.N.D., East St. Louis, Ill., at National Catholic Education Association Convention)	5 Feb. 1959	12	3
"Chapter 30 of the Cameron Commission Report: A Review" (Editorial)	26 Feb. 1960	13	3
"To Smoke or Not to Smoke" (From a Canadian Cancer Society pamphlet entitled, "To Smoke or Not to Smoke"	*24 Mar. 1961	14	4

The Status of Catholic Education

The desire, if not demand, for a Christian education for children of Catholic parentage is an historic tradition for the Catholic church hierarchy, the associated clergy, and the Catholic lay people. In Alberta all of these groups have been fortunate in that their rights to provide such an education have been protected by federal and provincial legislation. Yet despite such legal assurances the administrative changes that were implemented in the mid–thirties posed serious problems to the Roman Catholic separate schools. And after World War II the ensuing sociocultural changes and concomitant breakdown of traditional institutions presented equal if not more serious challenges to Catholic parents and educators.

To counter these challenges and provide spiritual and intellectual guidance to the "man in the gap in these troubled times" were important objectives of the Alberta Catholic Education Association. The significance of these subjects is seen by their coverage in the Association's bulletins. As one example, in the first formal issue of the bulletin excerpts from Pope Pius XI's Encyclical, "Christian Education of Youth" were included. Three of these are presented below:

> 1. The reason (for new wide interest in education) is that men, created by God to His own image and likeness, and destined to Him Who is infinite perfection, realize to–day more than ever before the insufficiency of earthly goods to produce true happiness either for the individual or for the nations. And hence they feel more keenly in themselves the impulse towards a perfection that is higher, which impulse is implanted in their rational nature by the Creator Himself. This perfection they seek to acquire by education. But many of them with, it would seem, too great insistence on the etymological meaning of the word, pretend to draw education out of human nature itself and evolve it by its own unaided powers. Such easily fall into error, because, instead of fixing their gaze on God, first principle and last end of the whole universe, they fall back on themselves, becoming attached exclusively to passing things of earth; and thus their restlessness will never cease until they direct their attention and efforts to God, the goal of all perfection, according to the profound saying of Saint Augustine: 'Thou didst create us for Thyself alone, O Lord, and our heart is restless till it rest in Thee.'
> 2. It must not be forgotten that the subject of Christian education is man, whole and entire, soul united to body in unity of nature, with all his faculties, natural and supernatural, such as revelation and right reason show him to be; man, therefore fallen from his original estate, but redeemed by Christ and restored to the supernatural condition of adopted son of God, though without the preternatural privileges of bodily immortality and perfect control of appetite. There remain therefore, in human nature the effects of original sin, the chief of which are weakness of will and disorderly inclinations.
> 3. For whatever Catholics do in promoting and defending the Catholic School for their children is a genuinely religious work and therefore an important task of Catholic Action. For this reason, the associations which in various countries are so zealously engaged in this work of prime necessity are especially dear to our paternal heart and are deserving of every commendation.
>
> (ACEA *Bulletin*, September 25, 1947, p. 3)

Just over a year later the entire Vol. 2, No. 2 issue of the *Bulletin* was devoted to excerpts from Pope Pius XI's Encyclical on Education. The importance of the Encyclical and the reason for the relatively extensive coverage of the document were clearly expressed by the editor.

> This number of our Alberta Catholic Education Association '*Bulletin*' is humbly dedicated to the late Pope Pius XI whose encyclical letter, 'The Christian Education of Youth' sets forth in trenchant and clear style for Catholics their rights and duties in the all-important matter of the education of their children. Many of our Catholic people have never read this encyclical and are therefore for the most part ignorant of its important content. The following excerpts from the encyclical should be carefully read and carefully studied by all Alberta Catholic Education Association members. If we are to continue to be enthusiastic promoters of the aims and objects of our Association we must be convinced ourselves of the importance of a Catholic education and of Catholic schools.
>
> (ACEA *Bulletin*, December 20, 1948, p. 1)

But it was not only government organizational policies and changing sociocultural patterns that posed problems to Catholic educators. Apathy among the Catholic laity was perhaps an even more serious matter. Bringing this to the attention of the Alberta Catholic Education Association members and trying to incite them to stir Catholics out of their lethargy was the editor of the *Bulletin*, Right Reverend Father MacLellan. So in the editorial section of the April 22, 1949 issue of the *Bulletin* he wrote:

> It was by no means an easy task to which the Alberta Catholic Education Association addressed itself when it undertook some two years ago to arouse interest among our Catholic people in our school and education problems. Those of us who were more directly concerned with the formation of the Association did not visualize for a moment that there was so much apathy, so little concern among Catholics regarding what was happening within this province in the field of education. In the Alberta school administrative setup, far-reaching changes were being made vitally affecting Catholic interests, but the vast majority of us sat back either blissfully ignorant of what was taking place or too apathetic to give this all-important matter any serious consideration.
>
> We are living in difficult dangerous times, all the more difficult and dangerous because of the sorry apathy of all of us. The atheistic Communist is abroad, alert and shrewdly militant. The anti-God forces are everywhere around us. Unashamed of their antagonism to religion and even enthusiastic in their treasonable attitude towards their country and government, they go their way for the most part unmolested. They are in our universities and teachers' colleges everywhere and preach there the doctrine of Antichrist.
>
> Catholics will have more and more need of their own Catholic schools as the years go on. Let us not compromise now but doggedly fight to retain what rights we have. Any compromising at this time may be fraught with untold harm to the cause of Catholic education in the years ahead.
>
> (ACEA *Bulletin*, April 2, 1949, pp. 1–2)

And in the following year Father MacLellan again wrote on the same theme. In the April 5, 1950, Vol. 3, No. 2 issue of the *Bulletin* his editorial page captioned in bold letters read "Apathy Toward Catholic Education." Here he reminded the ACEA Regions that they must vigorously try "to arouse our Catholic people from the criminal lethargy which has prevented them in the past from boldly demanding their rights as Catholic parents in the matter of Catholic education of their children" (ACEA *Bulletin*, April 5, 1950, p. 1).

Nor was the plea for the Catholic community to demand a Christian education for their children and to recognize its tremendous importance voiced only during the early years of the ACEA's existence. Rather, throughout the Association's duration, articles and public speeches on this very same theme were reprinted in the *Bulletin*. Two extracts selected from such articles and public addresses illustrate this point.

> Any educational system, be it idealistic, scholastic, or Catholic, should aim to inculcate in children a definite comprehension of the nature and destiny of man. Catholic education is unique in placing major emphasis on this all-important phase of education. The Catholic Church holds that moral and religious education is fundamental to educational thinking in this swiftly moving age that tends to forget the significance of spiritual learnings.
>
> We read in educational literature that education is life. If we accept this statement then it would be true to say that the meaning of education must be described in terms of the meaning of life. The Catholic and of course the Catholic teacher, holds that belief in a personal God who created us, and who placed us on this earth for a greater glory and destiny than any mere terrestrial life, is the theme that we should stress in all branches of Catholic education.
>
> (Doucette, December 29, 1954, p. 4)

> We think it is greatly to be deplored that so many of our Catholic youth are not taking full advantage of the golden educational opportunities afforded them almost everywhere in this province of Alberta. In all of our Alberta cities and in most of our towns, we have Catholic high and elementary schools which compare favourably with the best to be found anywhere in Canada. In spite of that fact, we find that every year hundreds, if not thousands, of Catholic teenagers leave school even before reaching the high school grades.
>
> We strongly urge pastors everywhere to speak again and again to parents advising to see that their children remain in school until at least they have reached grade eleven or twelve.
>
> Parents, there are 'golden educational opportunities' in this province for the little ones God entrusted to your care. Yours is in large measure the duty of seeing that they take advantage of those opportunities.
>
> (ACEA *Bulletin*, October 14, 1957, p. 1)

But all was not a situation of despair. Amidst concern about the lack of wholehearted effort within Catholic ranks to demand Christian education for their children were also notes of optimism—optimism about progress in this area. For example, in the December 5, 1955, Vol. 9, No. 2 issue of the ACEA *Bulletin* the editor reported that the Association was "pleased . . . that Catholic education in this province of Alberta . . . is evincing a healthy progress and gives promise of continued progress in the years ahead" (ACEA *Bulletin*, December 5, 1955, p. 1).

Similarly, in a relatively short period of time the editor's attitude about minority school rights was modified. The following examples elucidate this point. In the December 12, 1950 Vol. 4, No. 2 issue of the ACEA *Bulletin* he stated that "our minority school rights are being in practice liquidated throughout this province of Alberta" (ACEA *Bulletin*, December 12, 1950, p. 1). But in the December 29, 1954, Vol. 8, No. 2 issue he reported that "While not all the Catholic children in Alberta are in Catholic schools, we feel that in matters of education the Catholic people of this province have much for which they should be truly thankful" (ACEA *Bulletin*, December 29, 1954, p. 1). The editor then proceeded to give a concise but positive report about Catholic education in Alberta. This section of his editorial is reprinted in its entirety.

> The great majority of our Catholic children attend school in our larger cities and towns where they have every advantage of getting a Catholic education in well-equipped Catholic schools. Our high schools in Edmonton, Calgary, and other large centres are equal to the best found anywhere in Canada. Our new St. Joseph's High in Edmonton has now an enrollment of some five hundred pupils with a fine record in academic achievement and in sport. The same is true of St. Mary's in Calgary. A new large high school is in the process of being built in south Edmonton which will compare in size and cost with St. Joseph's. The Catholic school set-up in Lethbridge is one of which the Catholic people of that city may well be proud. We look for big things in Catholic education from Lethbridge in the years ahead. Medicine Hat with its St. Theresa's College conducted by the Sisters of St. Louis has over many years provided ample opportunity for all Catholic children in that city to get a thoroughgoing Catholic education. Castor, Red Deer and Wetaskiwin, have excellent schools all doing first class work. Wainwright deserves very special mention where the Sisters of St. Joseph have made a fine contribution to Catholic education in that portion of the province. We could also say much in commendation of the work being done in other separate and Catholic public schools in this province but space allows us the bare mention of names. Besides the Catholic schools above mentioned we have schools at Chauvin, Clandonald, Heisler, Hobbema, Killam, Lamoureux, Mearns, Morinville, Trochu, Vegreville, Blackfoot Reserve (Indian School), Blood Reserve (Indian Reserve School), Canmore (Kindergarten), Piegan Reserve, Pincher Creek (Kemaria Convent and Academy of Ten Sisters, Daughters of Jesus), Rockyford (Elementary and High School), St. Paul Blue Quills Indian School with 160 pupils, St. Paul School with 630 pupils conducted by 16 Sisters of the Assumption,

> Bonnyville Notre Dame Convent with 404 students conducted by 11 Sisters of the Assumption, Fort Kent St. Bernadette School with 350 pupils conducted by 11 Sisters of the Holy Cross, Lac La Biche School with 320 pupils conducted by the Daughters of Jesus, Lac La Biche Mission school with 77 pupils conducted by the Daughters of Jesus, La Corey school with 70 pupils conducted by the Sisters of the Assumption, Lafond school with 69 pupils conducted by the Sisters of the Holy Cross, Mallaig school with 146 pupils conducted by the Sisters of the Assumption, Picardville school with 91 pupils conducted by the Daughters of Jesus, Plamondon school with 142 pupils conducted by the Daughters of Jesus, St. Bride's school with 84 pupils conducted by the Sisters of St. Joseph, St. Lina school with 108 pupils conducted by the Sisters of the Holy Cross, St. Vincent school with 72 pupils conducted by the Sisters of the Assumption, Therien school with 132 pupils conducted by the Sisters of the Assumption, Vimy school with 141 pupils conducted by the Daughters of Jesus, McLennan school with 318 pupils conducted by the Sisters of Providence, Grouard Indian Residential School with 195 pupils conducted by the Sisters of Providence, Donnelly Consolidated School with 193 pupils conducted by the Sisters of the Holy Cross, Eaglesham school with 114 pupils conducted by the Sisters of the Holy Cross, Fairview Separate School with 157 pupils conducted by the Sisters of Providence, Falher Consolidated School with 334 pupils conducted by the Sisters of the Holy Cross, Fort Vermilion Indian Residential School with 108 pupils conducted by the Sisters of Providence, Fort Vermilion Separate school with 27 pupils conducted by the Sisters of Providence, Friedenstal school with 94 pupils conducted by the Sisters of Providence, Girouxville school with 258 pupils conducted by the Sisters of the Holy Cross, Grande Prairie school with 176 pupils conducted by the Sisters of the Holy Cross, Guy school with 82 pupils conducted by the Sisters of the Holy Cross, Hay Lakes Indian Residential School with 100 pupils conducted by the Sisters of Providence, Jean Coté school with 143 pupils conducted by the Sisters of the Holy Cross, Joussard school with 78 pupils conducted by the Sisters of Providence, Joussard Indian Residential School with 123 pupils conducted by the Sisters of Providence, Manning Separate School with 159 pupils conducted by the Sisters of Service, Peace River Separate School with 74 pupils conducted by the Sisters of Service, Pointe St. Charles school with 62 pupils conducted by the Sisters of Providence, Rycroft school with 113 pupils conducted by the Sisters of Service, Spirit River Separate School with 30 pupils conducted by the Grey Nuns of the Cross, Sturgeon Lake Indian Residential School with 127 pupils conducted by the Sisters of Providence, Tangent school with 137 pupils conducted by the Sisters of the Holy Cross, Upper Hay River school with 58 pupils, Wabasca Indian Residential School with 115 pupils conducted by the Sisters of Providence, Whitefish Lake school with 32 pupils conducted by the Daughters of Wisdom.
>
> Above statistics are very encouraging but we know that there are still many Catholic children in this province not attending Catholic schools. The Catholic Church is never content with a "half loaf" in the matter of Catholic education for its children. We must never be content in Alberta until we have Catholic schools wherever possible.
>
> (ACEA *Bulletin*, December 29, 1954, pp. 1-2)

The concluding sentence of the foregoing quotation demands special attention both for its denotative and connotative significance. The first meaning is self-evident and requires no further comment. From the second, it could be inferred that though conditions regarding minority educational rights in Alberta were favorable compared to those in other provinces the situation was not of such a nature that Catholics could become complacent.

The Educational Administrative Structure

The formation of the large administrative unit and the consequent closure of many Catholic rural schools prompted Catholic educators to organize the Alberta Catholic Education Association. As a provincial association it sought to make the Catholic community aware of the threat that divisions posed to minority educational rights. One strategy adopted to attain this end was the Association's encouragement of grassroots participation. A concerted campaign was launched to form Regional ACEA groups that would study and keep in touch with local problems as they related to Catholic rights. In the first formal issue of the *Bulletin*, His Excellency Archbishop MacDonald of Edmonton had the following to say about such associations:

> Regional groups of the Alberta Catholic Education Association are urgently needed in some places at the present time because of the dangers to which our school system is exposed and they ought to be organized even where no need appears now, in order to anticipate dangers of this kind.
>
> (ACEA *Bulletin*, September 25, 1947, p. 1)

And in the following year, the importance of organizing Regions was reiterated by Reverend Father MacLellan. In the Editorial of the May 1st, 1948, Vol. 1, No. 2 issue of the ACEA *Bulletin* he stated that "we must do all in our power to organize Regions in every part of Alberta" (ACEA *Bulletin*, May 1, 1948, p. 2).

It was, however, soon recognized that organized Regions functioned under a difficult handicap because they had no program of work. To help overcome this obstacle the Alberta Catholic Education Association drew up a program of work for the Regions. This program was published in a Handbook and distributed to "the organized units and to others which . . . [were] in prospect for the very near future" (ACEA *Bulletin*, December 18, 1949, p. 1). Undoubtedly the Handbook facilitated not only the work of the Regions but also stimulated the formation of Regions in new areas. That the enterprise—that is, the formation and involvement of the Regions—was successful is attested to by the regular coverage they received in the ACEA *Bulletin*. And though their work covered a wide range of topics, the issue of the large administrative unit was certainly given due attention.

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Nor was this issue only of concern to the Region groups. Via editorials and articles the ACEA *Bulletin* constantly brought to the attention of the membership the problems the large administrative unit created for Catholic education. Exemplary excerpts are cited below.

> Expressing pleasure that Bishop Routhier had found it possible to come to Edmonton and be at the . . . [Education Meeting], Father MacLellan called on His Excellency to open the discussion by setting forth the school problems as he saw them. Sketching what has transpired in recent years in Alberta in relation to education following the new organizational set-up, His Excellency stressed the importance of the Catholic school, saying that a Catholic school was as necessary to a parish as a church. He greatly regretted that some schools serving Catholic communities were allowed to be closed and the children sent to central schools where no religious instruction was being given.
>
> (ACEA *Bulletin*, March 2, 1948, p. 2)
>
> Much concern is felt everywhere among Catholics regarding minority school rights which in the past were bound up with the small area or "district." The School Act of this province recognizes the right of any minority group in a district to have its own school and to have such a school supported by the school taxes paid by the members of the group. Now that the districts are disappearing the question arises, what becomes of minority rights with the setting up of large units? Considerable thought is being given to this problem and we have every hope that the government of this province will give serious and favorable consideration to it. We hasten to assure Catholics that the Alberta Catholic Education Association will leave nothing undone to put the case for minority rights before the proper authorities.
>
> (ACEA *Bulletin*, October 12, 1948, p. 1)
>
> The problems arising out of the new administrative set-up, in so far as these affect our Catholic schools rights, are receiving our constant consideration. With the disappearance of the old "district" unit, it is very apparent that minority rights are also disappearing. By the simple process of destroying the fences, the guarantees which were made to minorities by the British North America Act and succeeding legislations are being made void. To pretend to think that those guarantees are being perpetuated in the ghostly remains of the old district units is the utterest folly. The old "district" is passé in this province and those in authority tell us that districts are gone or are going for keeps. We ask, where are our minority rights to reappear under the new set-up? If the new unit is the "Division" it would seem logical and right to us that minorities within those larger units should have the same rights as they had before as minorities in the smaller unit, the district. It has been suggested that we accept a piecemeal compromise of setting up group patches of Catholic districts, something in the nature of the present consolidated school area idea. In our way of thinking that suggestion does not half meet the situation. Our grievance is lost rights. Every person, Catholic or Protestant, within this Province who is a member of a minority is directly concerned and his rights are not being returned to him by the setting up of a patchwork of districts perhaps a hundred miles from him. The spirit and letter of the B. N. A. Act can be implemented in this province only by our Government making definite recognition of the rights of minorities within the new larger unit. Anything less than that will be a travesty of justice and a violence to minority rights.
>
> (ACEA *Bulletin*, April 2, 1949, pp. 1–2)

> The division process is proceeding apace and in fairness to the legislators it should be pointed out that it sought to protect denominational rights by the enactment of a section of The School Act which empowered the district, in a division, to demand the appointment to their district school of a teacher of the religious faith of the majority ratepayers in the districts. But they overlooked the divisions' scramble to centralize to close out the little red schoolhouse in the district, substituting therefore a large divisional school in a centre to which children are vanned every day or lodged in dormitories by the week, and no longer educated solely by a teacher of their own religious faith. Just another step in the decentralization of the home, this trend was not seriously contested until with the formation of The Alberta Catholic Education Association a serious movement is on foot to find, if possible a way to cooperate with the Department's desire to secure the best for the child in his material development and at the same time secure him his right to the eternal truths and their application to his everyday living.
>
> (Cormack, October 30, 1950, p. 4)

> In 1935 a large delegation of Catholic educators waited upon the late The Honorable William Aberhart to see whether or not the proposed divisional system would safeguard our denominational and language rights in our public schools. This assurance was given in the following two particulars:
>
> 1. The local Board would retain the right to nominate in its own school the teacher of the religion and language of the majority of the district.
> 2. The local Board would retain the right to provide religious instruction which right if infringed upon by the Divisional Board would enable the district to withdraw from the Division.
>
> These assurances were freely and I believe honestly given.
>
> But then someone thought of Centralized Schools and Vans. And here the fun began. It is not necessary to elaborate on all the problems that arose. You know them better than I do. As one cynic put it, our kids have been 'Dispersed—Divided—and be Damned'
>
> (Cormack, February 18, 1958, pp. 4 & 6)

The ACEA continued to champion entrenched Catholic educational rights but after 1958 its eminence in this role was overshadowed by another, newly-formed organization, the Catholic Trustees of Alberta. Record of the latter's work with respect to the above issue and others will be detailed in Chapter X.

But prior to 1958 the ACEA did more than heighten the Catholic community's awareness of the problems that came with the dissolution of the small school districts. Concrete plans to protect threatened minority rights were proposed and discussed, and subsequently representations were made to the government. One presentation made to the Education Meeting at Edmonton on January 21, 1948 and later to the appropriate provincial authorities is outlined below.

The Chairman next called on Father C. Kindervater of Fairview, Alberta, to give in outline the proposed 'Equality' plan which asks for minority rights on the divisional level. Father Kindervater briefly sets forth the plan as follows:

1. The formation of separate school divisions wherever possible, the boundaries of such divisions to coincide with the boundaries of the corresponding public school divisions.
2. The separate school divisional set-up to be similar in all respects to the public school divisional set-up: order by Minister creating divisions, three or five sub-divisions, vote by Catholic or Protestant ratepayers, same rights of boards—all as set forth in Section 205 of the School Act of Alberta.
3. All minority assessment within divisions formed into separate school divisions to be made available for support of separate schools.

After some discussion of the "Equality" plan as thus set forth, the meeting went on to discuss the suggestions made at the previous meeting at McLennan on Jan. 8, 1948.

The suggestions were considered for remedial school legislation and were dealt with as follows:

1st suggestion: "That in no case, shall the Protestant or Catholic majority in a local district be compelled to send their children [illegible] a central school situated in an area where the majority of the ratepayers is not of the religious faith of the majority of the local district."

On motion by Mr. P. S. Gans seconded by Mr. Sicotte, the 1st suggestion was accepted unanimously.

2nd suggestion: "That whenever a centralized school is organized in a division or a subdivision, the Catholic or Protestant minority may organize a centralized separate school within that division or subdivision."

On motion by Reverend Father Crean seconded by Reverend Dr. Connolly, the 2nd suggestion was accepted unanimously.

3rd suggestion: "That whenever a centralized High School is organized in a division, and the Protestant or Catholic minority has no High School, the Protestant or Catholic pupils in the minority group of that area may go to a Protestant or Catholic High School outside of that area, and if none exists in the division, those pupils may go outside the division and the divisional board shall pay the tuition fees of those pupils."

After considerable discussion the 3rd suggestion was accepted with the addition of the words "and transportation" after the words "the tuition fees." The motion to accept the 3rd suggestion with added words was made by Reverend Father Dunbar seconded by Mr. Sicotte.

4th suggestion: "That any school district be allowed to withdraw from the division if two-thirds of the electors of the district so desire."

It was felt that this 4th suggestion would immediately be frowned on by the Department of Education and for that reason it should be left to the discretion of the Committee making representations to the Government to present or not to present it as they saw fit. With that understanding the motion to accept the 4th suggestion was made by Mr. P. S. Gans and seconded by Mr. J. O. Pilon. The motion carried.

5th suggestion: "That in any division where the Catholic or Protestant minority is unable to elect a divisional trustee, and provided it contains at least 15 per cent of the electors, it be allowed to elect a trustee from the electors at large of its religious conviction."

With the same proviso as for the 4th suggestion re discretionary powers, the 5th suggestion was accepted on motion by Mr. J. Adams seconded by Reverend Father Kindervater.

6th suggestion: "That a separate school divisional Board be formed in every division to look after the school interests of the Protestant or Catholic ratepayers of that division."

There was considerable discussion of the 6th suggestion. It was felt that Catholics could not financially support a divisional board in all divisions and that it would be better to make the suggestion read: "That a separate school divisional board may be formed." To clarify the suggestion further the word "minority" was added after the words "Protestant or Catholic." The suggestion so amended was accepted on motion by Reverend Father Dunbar seconded by Mr. Pilon.

7th suggestion: "That it be urged upon the Department of Education that the school programme be better adapted to the needs and minds of the school children."

While agreeding with the 7th suggestion, the meeting felt that it was not sufficiently explicit. Reverend Dr. O'Reilly moved seconded by Reverend Dr. Connolly that the wording, although not the intent, of the 7th suggestion be dropped and the following substituted therefor: "That we urge a proportional representation of Catholics be appointed to the personnel of the Education Department Curriculum Committee." The motion carried.

8th suggestion: "That Catholic readers and other Catholic books, such as those provided for Catholic schools in Ontario and more recently in Saskatchewan, be provided for our Catholic schools in Alberta."

The 8th suggestion was accepted without much discussion on motion of Mr. J. O. Pilon seconded by Reverend Father J. R. MacDonald.

A general discussion followed regarding how best to present our requests to the Government of Alberta. It was suggested that the Alberta Catholic Education Association take the initiative in organizing a federation of national Catholic groups within the province which would in turn name a representative council or committee whose work would be to function as a liaison group between the Catholic Education Association and the Bishops of Alberta on the one hand and the Government of the province on the other. The Chairman, Reverend Father MacLellan, said that he could not give assurance that the suggestion regarding a federation of Catholic national groups and a representative committee would be well received by the main body of the ACEA. The matter had been broached before, the Chairman said, but it did not receive much acceptance. Mr. Pilon made the suggestion that the ACEA before its next annual convention give consideration to the advisability of forming such a federation as was suggested and have the convention vote on it. He (Mr. Pilon) moved seconded by Reverend Father Crean, that a Committee of the ACEA present the suggestions accepted at this meeting to the Bishops of the Province for their approval and then to the Government of Alberta. The motion carried.

(ACEA *Bulletin*, March 2, 1948, p. 2)

A similar message was recorded in an article published in the October 30, 1950 *Bulletin*. Under the caption "Alberta's Education Then and Now," John S. Cormack wrote:

> The answer appears to be found in the words and spirit of the old North West Territories Act of 1870—to grant to Catholics the right to run their own schools in cooperation with the State, to achieve the ideal of divisional set-up this might mean a separate school division within the division.
>
> (ACEA *Bulletin*, October 30, 1950, p. 4)

Though justifiable on legal and moral grounds the above and other proposals and representations were basically ignored by the government. It took years of dedicated, diligent labor, commendable diplomacy, and astute political compromise before any progress along these lines was accomplished. In the meantime, the Catholic leadership did not fall back into apathy and despair. Rather, as the February 5, 1956 editorial reported:

> We have found part of the solution of our problem in the "dummy district" idea. We have gone into a number of areas and have organized separate school districts, within the old district boundaries, and all the Catholic children of school age in those districts are being sent to a central school in a near town or village. The "dummy district" has no school of its own but its taxes go to the support of the central catholic school. In this way we are financially equal to supporting sizable, and, all in all, good schools.
>
> (ACEA *Bulletin*, February 5, 1956, p. 1)

Principal among those active in establishing separate school districts, of whatever status necessary, was Father C. Kindervater. His tireless efforts were publicly recognized by the ACEA as early as 1954. In the September *Bulletin* of that year the following acknowledgement was published:

> For many years Father Kindervater has been actively interested in the work of the Association particularly in the Grouard Vicariate where he was instrumental in forming a number of new Catholic separate school districts and in building new schools.
>
> (ACEA *Bulletin*, September 20, 1954, p. 5)

In the years that followed, the Reverend Father Kindervater continued work in this mission.

School Financing

> The Division organization has gone on apace everywhere. Large central schools have been or are being built and Catholic assessment is being committed daily more and more to neutral public school support. It is rather easy to see that if this kind of thing continues for say ten or fifteen years, it will be a very difficult thing to interfere with a de facto set-up and get permission to organize separate school districts or provide any kind of Catholic schools.
>
> (ACEA *Bulletin*, December 12, 1950, p. 1)

As is seen from the above, the establishment of the large administrative unit created serious problems for separate school districts. To appreciate the complexity of this problem some background information is necessary.

Prior to 1936 provincial schools were financed by local taxation supplemented by government grants. The former encompassed two categories: (1) taxes levied on privately owned property; and (2) taxes levied on companies, corporations, and cooperatives. The levy on privately owned property was regulated by the Alberta Act which, regarding minority groups, read:

> The minority of ratepayers in any district, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, may establish a separate school therein; and in such case the ratepayers establishing such Protestant or Roman Catholic separate school shall make necessary assessments and collections of rates thereof, and the ratepayers establishing such Protestant or Roman Catholic school shall be liable only to assessment of such rates as they impose upon themselves with respect thereto.
>
> (*Alberta Act*, 1905, Sec. 22(2))

The application of this legislation proved satisfactory to all concerned. But taxation collected from companies, corporations, and cooperatives was more difficult to regulate fairly. The reasons for this difficulty can best be understood within the context of the Statutes (Ordinances) relative to this subject and the amendments that were made since 1901.

Chapter 30 of the 1901 Ordinance reads as follows:

> A Company may by notice in that behalf to be given to the secretary of the board of any district in which a separate school has been established and to the secretary of the board of such separate school district require any part of the land of which such company is the owner to be entered, rated and assessed for the purposes of said separate school and the proper assessor shall thereupon enter said company as a separate school ratepayer in the assessment roll in respect of the land specially designated in that behalf in or by said notice and so much of the land as shall be so designated shall be assessed accordingly in the name of the company for the purposes of the separate school and not public school purposes but all other land of the Company shall be separately entered and assessed in the name of the company as for public school purposes:
>
> Provided always that the share or portion of the land of any company entered, rated or assessed in any district for separate school purposes under the provisions

of this section shall bear the same ratio or proportion to the whole land of the company assessable within the district as the amount or proportion of the shares or stock of the company so far as the same are paid or partly paid up held and possessed by persons who are Protestants or Roman Catholics as the case may be bears to the whole amount of such paid or partly paid up shares or stock of the company.

(*Ordinance of North-West Territories*, 1901, Sec. 9)

The companies referred to in the above ordinance were of three types:

(1) Companies whose shareholders were all Protestant.
(2) Companies whose shareholders were all Roman Catholic.
(3) Mixed companies whose shareholders were partly Protestant and partly Roman Catholic.

From the first, taxes were available for public schools only. From the second, taxes were available to the Catholic separate schools only if notice was given requiring that their property be assessed for that purpose. If no notice was given, all said taxes would be devoted to the public system. From the third type, taxes were available for separate schools if such companies gave notice requiring that a portion of their taxes be devoted to the separate system. If, as frequently was the case, no notice was given all the taxes were granted to the public schools.

The resulting situation proved unfavorable to the separate schools because many companies failed to file the required notice. In an attempt to rectify the consequent inequities the Alberta Legislature amended Section 9 of the School Ordinance. The amendment, passed in 1910, added the following subsections:

(5) In the event of any company failing to give a notice as herein-before provided, the board of trustees of the separate school district may give the company a notice in writing in the following form or to the like effect, that is to say: The board of trustees of the . . . Separate School District No. . . . of the Province of Alberta hereby give notice that unless and until your company gives a notice as provided by Section 9 of the School Assessment Ordinance (C.30 of 1901), the school taxes payable by your company in respect of land lying within the limits of the . . . Public School District No. . . . of the Province of Alberta (naming the public school district in relation to which the separate school district is established) will be divided between the said public school district and the said separate school district in shares corresponding with the total amount of the assessed value of lands assessed to individuals for public school purposes and the total amount of the assessed value of lands assessed to individuals for separate school purposes respectively. This notice is given in respect of section . . . of chapter . . . of the Statutes of Alberta 1910.

(6) Unless and until a company to which notice has been given as aforesaid gives a notice as hereinbefore provided for the whole of the lands of such company

> lying within the limits of the public school district shall be entered, rated and assessed upon the assessment roll of the public school district, but the public school district shall pay to the separate school district a share of the taxes collected from the company in respect of its lands equal to the proportion which the total assessed value of the lands assessed to individuals upon the assessment roll of the separate school district bears to the total assessed value of the lands assessed to individuals upon the assessment rolls of both the public and separate school districts.
>
> (*An Act to Amend the School Ordinance,*
> *the School Assessment Ordinance, and the*
> *School Grants Ordinance*, 1910)

As a result of this amendment taxes from companies and corporations who "failed to give notice" no longer were available only for public school purposes. Rather, if said notice was not given by the company the separate school was to receive taxes proportionate to the total assessable property owned by Roman Catholics in the district (excluding corporations) provided notice was given to the company by the board of trustees of the separate school district.

Though the intent of this legislation was to achieve fair distribution of tax funds, difficulties soon arose in the application of the amendment.

> According to the more obvious interpretation the separate school district would collect taxes . . . [from] all companies and corporations which did not give notice. In the case of companies and corporations which had no Catholic shareholders this seemed contrary to the spirit of the law, since such companies could not give notice.
>
> (Hochstein, 1954, pp. 51–52)

In Saskatchewan this matter was taken to the courts.

Ruling on this issue, the Supreme Court of Canada and the Supreme Court of Saskatchewan declared that the interpretation of the clause "in the event of any company failing to give notice" could only refer "to such companies as could give notice and failed to do so, that is, companies some of whose shareholders were of the religious faith of the separate schools" (Weir, 1934, p. 91). In Alberta it was not until 1931 that the Legislature attempted to bring the subsection containing the ambiguous terms into stricter conformity with the Supreme Court interpretation. But even this amendment failed to significantly alter the entrenched practice. As Hochstein stated:

> Taxes were collected from all companies, corporations, and cooperatives without exception; payments were made to separate school districts only from such companies as voluntarily agreed to support these schools. Some companies, regardless of Catholic shareholders, refused to divide their taxes on the grounds that they could not easily find out the religious beliefs of their shareholders.
>
> (Hochstein, 1954, p. 52)

In 1936 the wording of Subsection 5 was effected. This amendment, Chapter 86—An Act to Amend the School Assessment Act of 1931—reads as follows:

> The said Act is further amended as to Section 50 thereof by striking out the words "any company failing to give a notice" where the same occur in subsection 5 thereof, and substituting therefor the words "any company not giving the notice."

The above became Section 32 of the School Taxation Act of 1940.

The Act intended that companies could be compelled, under specified conditions, to allocate their taxes to both public and separate systems. However, syntactical ambiguities, failure to adapt the legislation to the divisional set-up, and lack of provisions to cover assessment of cooperatives made the compulsory features of the Act unenforceable.

Painfully aware of this situation was the ACEA. Excerpts from a number of issues of the Association's *Bulletin* prove this point.

> Our separate school districts have, however, worked under the serious handicap of not being able to get their proper share of corporation taxes. The City of Edmonton Catholic Separate School District, for instance, does not benefit at all from school taxes paid by such corporations as the Railways, the Hudson's Bay, Woodward's, Eaton's, and numerous others including most of the Banks. How completely dishonest all this is! Upwards of 45% of the population of Canada is Catholic which means that our Railroads are dependent to that extent on Catholic support. Yet, not a cent comes from those same Railroads for the support of Catholic schools. And it is much the same in regard to the other corporations mentioned. They are all dependent for their business success on us who form almost half of Canada's population.
>
> (ACEA *Bulletin*, February 15, 1951, p. 2)
>
> We had hopes that at the recent Session of our Alberta Legislature something would be done to clarify minority rights in this province and to improve the financial position of existing Catholic Separate Schools. We were told that the Government had in mind to generally revise the School Act by putting in final form the sections having to do with such sweeping changes as are already made in the 'Division' set-up or are envisaged by those who are blue-printing the more drastic 'County' organization. It seems that the Government felt a little timid about it all with the result that the whole revision was given a hoist of one year. We do not know whether there is anything in the proposed revision favorable to Catholic schools but whether there is or not we are for the nonce in the same difficult financial position as before and unable to say what the prospect is for more Catholic schools in the future.
>
> (ACEA *Bulletin*, May 1, 1951, p. 1)
>
> It becomes more apparent as time goes on that the new divisional and county set-ups are indirectly cutting the ground from under our feet in the matter of getting more Catholic schools in the future. More and more Catholic assessment is being committed to the support of the large central schools and it is not going to be easy after a very few years to get a transfer of that assessment so that Catholic taxes can

> be used for the support of Catholic schools. We need remedial changes in the present Alberta School Act which will make it more easily possible for us to set up schools and we must press for such legislation with vigor and determination.
> (ACEA *Bulletin*, October 4, 1951, p. 2)

As the sentiment in the above excerpts suggest, the Alberta Catholic Education Association was adamant in its opposition to the existing legislation that controlled the distribution of company and corporate taxes. And so through the years its executive made repeated efforts to get specific subsections of the 1940 Amendment changed. In this enterprise separate school boards and Church authorities were also involved. Largely due to this concerted action, the Act was amended in 1952. Sections pertinent to the issue are reprinted here.

Parts, Sections or Sub–Sections of the Alberta School
Act 1952, Relating Directly to Catholic Schools.

Special Provisions Applicable to
Separate School Districts

286. Where a separate school district has been established, the religion of the owner of the property liable to assessment, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, shall determine whether the property is assessed for public or separate school purposes.

287. Where a separate school district has been established, and where property is held by two or more persons as joint tenants or tenants in common, the holders of the property being Protestant and Roman Catholic, each shall be assessed for the purpose of the district of which he is a supporter, in proportion to his interest in the property.

288. (1) In a public school district in which a separate school district has been established a company, by giving notice, may require a percentage of the property in respect of which it is assessable, to be entered and assessed for separate school purposes.

(2) The notice shall:

(a) designate the percentage of the property of the company in the district assessable for separate school purposes, which shall bear the same ratio to the total assessed value of the property of the company in that district as the value of the shares of the company held by Protestants or Roman Catholics, as the case may be, bears to the total value of all the shares of the company;

(b) state that the percentage designated therein has been approved by resolution of the company or of the board of directors of the company.

(3) A co–operative association shall be deemed to be a company for the purposes of sections 288 to 295 inclusive, except that the notice, if any, given by a co–operative association under section (2) designating the percentage of the property of the association assessable for separate school purposes shall designate a percentage which shall bear the same ratio to the total assessed value of the property of the association in that district as the number of members who are Protestant or Roman Catholic, as the case may be, bears to the total number of members of the association.

289. (1) A notice under section 288 shall be given to the proper officer of the municipality in which the property is situated, and to the secretaries of the public and separate school districts.

(2) The notice shall be given on or before the first day of November and shall become effective on the following thirty-first day of December.

(3) The proper officer shall retain on file in his office each notice given to him by a company.

(4) The notice shall continue in force and be acted upon until it is withdrawn, varied, or cancelled by a subsequent notice given pursuant to a resolution of the company or its directors.

290. Any person entitled to examine the assessment and tax roll may examine a notice given by a company at any time during office hours.

291. (1) The proper officer of each municipality in each year before the completion of the assessment and tax roll, shall examine each notice on file in his office, and shall show in the assessment and tax roll the property of the company or the part thereof that is designated by the notice as assessed for separate school purposes.

(2) The proper officer shall enter in the assessment and tax roll all other property for which the company is assessable as being assessed for public school purposes.

292. (1) Where a company has not given a notice under section 288 the board of the separate school district, by giving notice, may require part of the property in respect of which the company is assessable to be entered and assessed for separate school purposes.

(2) The notice shall be given to the company, to the proper officer of the municipality and to the secretary of the public school district.

(3) The notice shall be given on or before the first day of December and shall become effective on the following thirty-first day of December and shall remain in effect until the company gives a notice in accordance with sections 288 and 289.

293. Where the board of a separate school district has given a notice to a company under section 292 the proper officer of each municipality shall apportion the total assessment of that company between the public and separate school districts in the same ratio that the assessment of persons other than companies for public school purposes bears to the assessment of persons other than companies for separate school purposes.

294. (1) The proper officer of each municipality, when providing the certificate required by section 283, or section 296, shall also send to each board a statement showing,—

(a) the total assessment of all property assessed to persons other than companies for public school purposes, and for separate school purposes respectively;

(b) the total assessment of all property assessed to companies for public school purposes and for separate school purposes respectively as a result of company notices under section 288;

(c) the total assessment of all property assessed to companies for public school purposes and for separate school purposes respectively as a result of separate school board notices under section 292;

> (d) the totals of the assessments under clauses (a), (b) and (c) for public school purposes and for separate school purposes respectively.
>
> (2) The total assessment for public school purposes and the total assessment for separate school purposes determined under clause (d) of subsection (1) shall be used by the public school district and the separate school district for the purpose of making their respective requisitions.
>
> 295. (1) Where there are school districts that collect their own taxes, the secretary of the public school district and the secretary of the separate school district shall apportion the total assessment of each company in accordance with the notice given by that company or given by the separate school board to that company in the same manner as the proper officer of a municipality is required to do.
>
> (2) In respect of each company the assessment roll of the public school district shall show only the property of the company that is assessable for public school purposes, and the assessment roll of the separate school district shall show only the property of the company that is assessable for separate school purposes.
>
> (ACEA *Bulletin*, February 26, 1953, pp. 6–7)

Under the quoted Sections 292, 293, 294, and 295 it was now possible to compel companies and corporations to allocate a proportion of their taxes to the separate schools. Needless to say, the above amendments were well received by the Catholic community. Representative of its attitude were John S. Cormack's remarks:

> In matters of legislation affecting our rights I have observed that legislators have maintained a certain scrupulosity in the matter of separate schools. Then too, we cannot but be appreciative of the amendment to the corporation tax sections of the Act which were voluntarily introduced and which made an unworkable piece of legislation into a fairly operative one.
>
> (ACEA *Bulletin*, February 18, 1958, p. 6)

Though, as Cormack pointed out, the legislation was workable and though it should have led to a fair division of company, corporate, and cooperative taxes, such was not the case in all the districts of the province. The account of the continued struggle to attain parity in this crucial matter is included in another chapter.

Progressive Education

In 1936 the Department of Education implemented a revised curriculum at the elementary level. This curriculum was intended to put into practice key features of John Dewey's educational philosophy, commonly known as progressive education. A review of these "new ideas" in education or characteristics of this philosophy is warranted.

1. *It is pragmatic*; experience rather than logic is what counts; experience is educative; every new experience implies a re-birth of personality; hence education is not preparation for living, but life itself. Ideas, knowledge, and information are not something to be stored away to lie inert; they must guide conduct and be put to work; their place is functional and instrumental for the control of new experiences. Ideals are plans of desirable action, subject to modification in the light of new situations.

   Implications in practice; schools are centers for self-directed activity; sanctions are provided for ventures in creative education—the Winnetka school, the Decrolly class, the Dalton plan, project methods, fixed curricula, text-book methods, and the conventional recitation, are discredited; schools become pupil centered.

2. *It is sociological*; a human being is a social being; hence education is primarily experiencing in social relationships; it implies a social milieu, group activity, cooperative activity, social living. The democratic and industrial orders are accepted.

   Implications; the school becomes a miniature reflection of society, open and accessible to all as far as its activities yield valuable experiences. It looses its traditional formalism and becomes integral with life.

3. *It is psychological*; the educational psychology of James, and Cattell, and Thorndike is assumed, but in a way superseded. Experience is not absorption of inert ideas, but is self-directed activity; it is the striving after goals that are accepted as worthwhile, good in themselves. It implies the realization and appropriation of problems to be solved. Activities that yield satisfaction will be repeated, thereby fixing impressions and establishing habits. Other activities will progress to the further control of the environment, the realization of new ends. Thus the traditional dualism between habitual response and reason is eliminated. Similarly the dualism between the intellectual and emotional aspects of learning is resolved. The capacity for self-direction. The child is father of the man.

   Implications; recognition of individual differences; emphasis upon growth and development; action and reaction between original nature and environment; importance of satisfiers and annoyers in the learning process; acceptance of the empirical viewpoint.

4. *It assumes the resolution of the apparent anti-thesis of interest and effort.* A free man puts forth his own power, exerts his own effort; is a slave unless self-motivated. Effort is sequent to interest; given the one, the other follows as psychological principle.

   Sometimes the order seems to be reversed, but the appearance is deceptive. It is not effort that arouses interest, but rather as effort proceeds a problem emerges, or the vision of a personal triumph is caught, or the fighting instinct is aroused. In consequence effort is sustained or renewed. Enlarged experience brings the habit of success and the sentiment of self-regard. Effort is powerfully reinforced from the interest derived through these.

   Implications; interest is personal and cannot be imposed from without. Thinking is generated not by making subjects interesting, but by needs that are felt purposefully and whole-heartedly by the pupil.

(Smith, 1931)

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Table 30
Schematic Summary

			COMPARATIVE PHILOSOPHIES			EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS	
	DEFINITION		PRAGMATISM (PROG. EDUCATION)	NEO-THOMISM		PRAGMATISM	NEO-THOMISM
ONTOLOGY	What is real?		A world of experience	A world of Reason and Being/God	CURRICULAR EMPHASIS	Subject matter of social experience	Subject matter of intellect and spirit
EPISTEMOLOGY	The study of knowing?		Testing to see what works	Intuition, logical reasoning, and revelation	PREFERRED METHOD	Problem solving: project method	Disciplining the mind. Readying the spirit: Catechism
AXIOLOGY	What is good?	ETHICS	The public test	The rational act	CHARACTER EDUCATION	Making group decisions in light of consequences	Disciplining behavior to reason
	What is beautiful?	AESTHETICS	The public taste	Creative intuition	DEVELOPING TASTE	Participating in art projects	Finding beauty in reason

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* (Van Cleve Morris, 1961, pp. 316-317)

Implicit in the above methodological and pedagogical principles are identifiable metaphysical assumptions (ontological, epistemological, and axiological) that contradict the parallel presuppositions upon which Catholic educational philosophy is based and from which educational implications are derived. Table 30 shows this polarity.

Given the basic differences evident in the above schemata, it was inevitable that progressive education would immediately be the subject of Catholic criticism. The general nature of these criticisms, documented in Chapter VI, was primarily gleaned from writers of international repute. Interestingly enough, equally insightful and valid (from the Catholic perspective) were the criticisms that were published in the ACEA *Bulletin*. Two exemplary articles on this topic are reprinted on the pages that follow.

Crises in Education

(Memorandum prepared by Education Committee,
University Women's Club, Edmonton)

The Massey Commission was established to study the place of the Arts, Sciences and Letters, in Canadian life. Education is very closely related to such an enquiry, but education is a matter of provincial control, and so the Report touches on education in only a general way.

This is the type of statement the Report makes: that while rigid training in the methods of research have been intensified, the disciplines of the humanities have been steadily reduced. (When the Report speaks of the humanities it is referring to the Arts, History, Philosophy and Literature.) The Massey Report records the concern felt by many Canadian groups at the decline of the humanities, and it attempts to re-state the significance of the Arts, History, Literature and Philosophy for Canadian Life. The purpose of these pursuits, says the Report "is nothing less than to teach the student how to think, to train his mind, to cultivate his judgment and taste and give him the capacity to express himself with clarity and precision." The Canadian Catholic Conference in their brief to the Commission put much the same idea in this way: "that there was a critical need for preserving the humanities, whose aim is to form the man himself and to develop his intelligence, his conscience and his taste."

The authors of the Report feel that we are too content to borrow our educational theory from the United States and that the declining interest in the humanities is the outcome. "But for American hospitality we might in Canada have been led to develop educational ideas and practices more in keeping with our own way of life."

Let us stop, then, to examine this American theory that is supposed to have been responsible for the diminishing interest in History, Literature, Philosophy and the Arts.

Dewey is the originator of the "progressive" theory. If we understand Dewey, aright, his philosophy of education is a social philosophy. He uses the following examples as the ideal method of learning. The mother dresses the child to take it for an airing. As she puts his hat on she says, "Hat," and the child says, "Hat," and so learns the word in its proper association of preparing to go out with his mother. From this simple example of learning, Dewey elaborates his theory of method and the learning process takes place when people are associated together in a shared activity directed towards a recognized common end. Social activity directed towards the solution of a common problem brings in its train the discipline of social experience, and makes necessary the study of such material as will aid in solving the problem.

It is this Dewey theory, we presume, that has resulted in the enterprise in Alberta. Here is an example of an "enterprise." The common problem, shall we say, is the building of a bird house. Committees are struck. Some pupils are to find out the types of birds likely to use a bird house here in the spring. Others are to discover what size of entrance hole is required for wrens, robins, swallows. Some are to work on the actual construction, others the painting, and the outcome or culmination in the setting out of the bird houses and the arrival of the birds.

To proceed with the Dewey philosophy, always in the hope that it is being interpreted correctly. The type of experience, such as outlined in the making of a bird house, would be all that would be necessary for education in a primitive society, but, and we quote from Dewey, "As soon as a community depends to any considerable extent upon what lies beyond its own territory, and its own immediate generation, it must rely upon the set agency of the schools to ensure adequate transmission of all its resources," and it is the business of the school (a) to select what is fundamental from the field of experience, weed out what is undesirable, and create a wider and better balanced environment, and (b) to arrange these materials in a progressive order.

At this point we find the greatest difficulty in accepting the practical applicability of the Dewey theory. Think of trying to select a series of true problems that would have sufficient range and depth to transmit all that is valuable in experience, and at the same time arrange these in an ascending scale of difficulty. We maintain this is just too hard to do, and the teachers fall back on the mock problems, skip about from field to field according to taste or knowledge, with very patchy result and frequent repetition, and because they are not true experiences, the social disciplines are lacking.

Proceeding with the Dewey philosophy. We are to suppose it possible to select experiences that are vital and arranged in an ascending scale of difficulty. Still Dewey feels that personal experience is limited, and the school must supplement by using the personal experiences of others. The imagination is the medium which allows us to associate ourselves in their wider experience. This wider experience frees us from the bondage of one locality or one generation. Now what is meant by saying that we must pass beyond the boundaries of our personal experience to enter imaginatively into the lives of other times and places, if it does not mean the study of geography, history, literature, studies that are not safely left to the haphazard and time–consuming methods of the social enterprise. These are the types of study necessary for civilized living, and it seems to us that Dewey did not sufficently stress them in his own statement of theory and that they were further neglected in favor of activity progress by Dewey's followers.

It is this area of imaginative realization of the world beyond our little immediate horizons that has suffered most in the application of the progressive theory in the Alberta school, and we are concerned that before we lose our capacity for living in any other than an immediate practical and limited plane of experience, we realize our situation, and make haste to reinstate as subjects on our curriculum those studies which are so essential to the cultivation of broader horizons, of trained judgment and taste, those subjects which as Dr. John Macdonald says, "confer insight into the basic values on which our civilization rests."

(ACEA *Bulletin*, December 29, 1954, pp. 4 & 8)

Progressive Methods Discussed

Fifty-one years ago as a country school teacher—stipend $325 a year and $80 deducted for board—Honourable W. J. Dunlop, Ontario's minister of education, came upon a "little secret." This, he said today, is shaping the policy of his department. Here it is: With proper guidance the average boy or girl likes to work hard in class.

Work Must Stay

For that reason, the minister said, he is holding firm to a view he has been expounding for decades: "Work must stay in fashion in the schools. We must not overload our education with fads."

Four years ago, he recalled there was "quite a stir" when he told the Ontario Association of Municipalities that some boards of education were spending too much money, and that a lot of "fancy subjects, frills and fads would have to go."

There was more criticism in February of 1953 when the province abolished capital grants on a percentage basis in the construction of new schools for libraries, gymnasiums, auditoriums. swimming pools, home economics and manual training rooms.

Just the other day, he went on, Premier Frost told the Association of Ontario Mayors and Reeves that school boards would have to pull in their belts to meet demands of increased school enrollment.

"There was little fuss over that," said the minister. "Those who have come to grips with the situation are now aware that the problem is perhaps greater than they first realized."

"Today in Ontario 1,045,000 boys and girls are attending elementary and secondary schools apart from private schools. One fourth of that total are in Metropolitan Toronto. All previous records have been broken. That is not all. Next year the school attendance will jump another 70,000. The crest of the new tide, and the demand for more class rooms, will fall on Grade 9 for pupils starting high school.

More to University

"Meanwhile the percentage of high school pupils continuing on to college and university has jumped from seven to 11. That trend will become more pronounced.

"It is logical then," said Dr. Dunlop, "that grants to colleges and universities should be increased some $2,000,000.00 to $7,700,000."

"Wouldn't it be wonderful if we could tell every school board to go ahead with all the libraries, gymnasiums, swimming pools and auditoriums they wanted. Some school boards can afford them. There is nothing to prevent them from building

> them if their own taxpayers are willing. We must realize that many of the smaller country schools simply do not have the money to spend on such projects. That being the case they could not share in the grants to the same extent as the better off schools.
>
> "Apart from the question of inequalities we all know that the province must deal with demands for highways and new hospitals."
>
> Dr. Dunlop acknowledged he had run into a curriculum problem of his own creation. Director of extension at the University of Toronto 15 years ago, he instituted the first safe-driving course in Canada. On taking over the education portfolio he realized how that had encouraged the clamor for including similar courses in secondary schools.
>
> ### Safe Driving Not Frill
>
> "I took the stand that safe driving is not a frill or a fad," he said, "but a vital subject. I also insisted that it could be taught after school, either between four or six or at night classes. That plan works well in cities such as St. Catherines and Kitchener. We are keeping our class-time free for the fundamentals. It will be a sad day when we fail to insist that first things come first."
>
> "What are the fundamentals?" I asked. The minister listed them in this manner: elementary schools, English, (including reading, literature, composition, grammar and spelling), hand-writing, arithmetic, social studies, (including history and geography), science, music, art and physical education. Secondary schools: the sciences, English (including literature, composition and grammar), history and geography, mathematics, and one or more of the foreign languages.
>
> "Does physical education, being compulsory, not require gymnasiums?" I asked. "It didn't when I taught school. You can have your physical jerks in the classroom if the weather is unsuitable. Otherwise you have the playgrounds."
>
> Instruction is also given in religion and temperance. Sex-education courses have been urged, said Dr. Dunlop, but there comes a time when one wonders if these and other suggestions are not prompted by a desire to relieve the home of all responsibilities in the training of youth. "Surely parents still have some."
>
> The "progressive" education movement, he asserted, sometimes works in reverse. A few years ago, one of the provinces abolished trigonometry as a compulsory subject. The result was that when the students went on to college and universities elsewhere they were set back a year. Engineering students were particularly handicapped.
>
> "These progressive people argue that we should not make things difficult for the children. We should discourage competition and encourage self-expression. I say that if you take competition and hard work out of the curriculum you are not preparing pupils for an adult life. Adults must compete. They must work hard. The teacher truly interested in his pupils knows they respond to the challenge. Show me a normal boy or girl who doesn't thrill to the competitive spirit."
>
> (ACEA *Bulletin*, March 22, 1956, p. 7)

The number of similar denunciations of progressive education included in issues of the ACEA *Bulletin* is an accurate index of how strenuously the Catholic educational leaders opposed the "new educational movement." But though these leaders, adamant in their opposition to progressive education, could claim provincially representative membership in the ACEA, it cannot be concluded that their views were shared by the general Catholic community. In fact Francis O'Hara, Assistant Superintendent of Edmonton Catholic Schools, suggests that such a common viewpoint did not necessarily exist. Rather, he intimates that the elite of the Catholic educational hierarchy were adherents of the Robert Hutchins school of Perennialism—a philosophy of education that had already lost considerable acceptability by the mid-forties.

Why the latter occurred is quite evident. It was inevitable that an educational philosophy that demands rigorous standards, diligent work, and is based on definitive criteria of "right" and "wrong" would lose popularity in a society where affluence, self-indulgence and moral and ethical laxness was quickly becoming the norm. But there is another aspect to this issue. When a new philosophy of education is introduced, few individuals have the expertise to assess its implications. And so it was with progressive education. The majority of those who gave the movement any thought envisioned a child-centered environment where 'interest' would guide scientifically-based activities that would facilitate ongoing individual growth and subsequently harmonious, universal human relations. Who then would deny the child such opportunity? Much more difficult was the task of examining the metaphysical assumptions underlying the philosophy of education and then assessing both the pedagogical procedures and the final end of the specific educational experience. For this reason Francis O'Hara's observation about the Catholic community's attitude toward progressive education may be valid.

But while this may be true of the public in question, it certainly was not valid for many adherents of the Catholic faith. A good number of these recognized both the limitations and the virtues of progressive education. With this in mind they sought to take the best of the "old" and the "new" without compromising the two fundamental aims of Catholic educational philosophy. The two types of aims are cited below:

> 1. *The primary or ultimate aim.* The primary aim of education is so to form an individual that he will both be fitted and determined to strive constantly toward moral perfection unto the attainment of his eternal salvation. This primary end of education is clear from two sources: First, *divine revelation*, which informs man that all human striving must be directed to the attainment of eternal happiness with God, second, *human reason*, which informs man that, since he has an immortal soul, he cannot be destined for this passing world, not be satisfied with any material happiness alone. Therefore, the primary, or ultimate, aim of all education is identical with the purpose for which man was created.
>
> However, to limit educational activity to the achievement of this end alone, might result in a one-sided type of education. Hence, Catholic education recognizes secondary or immediate aims which are necessary to supplement the primary aim.

> 2. *Secondary aims.* The purpose of secondary aims is to supply those essentials which will help to achieve the primary aim. These secondary aims imply conscious efforts so to form the child by instruction, guidance, and discipline that he will be well fitted and determined to carry out his life work with interest and zeal in conformity with unchanging moral principles. And in so doing, it is assumed, that he will be disposed to strive not only toward his own well-being, but also toward the welfare of others. From the Catholic viewpoint also, Providence has provided vocational abilities and opportunities for each individual. It follows, therefore, that there is a definite need to educate for man's temporary vocation, as well as for man's eternal destiny.
>
> (ACEA *Bulletin*, December 18, 1949, p. 4)

Though the primary aims of Catholic education have remained inviolable, adaptation of secondary aims to specific times and places have always been encouraged.

> While the Catholic Church has always given a very definite and unvarying answer to the question, "What is the primary or ultimate aim of education," she has not, so far as I know, issued an official and codified list of secondary aims of education that must be accepted *in toto* by Catholic Educators in all countries. Catholic educators in various countries are left to work out their own specific statements of secondary aims. In so doing they are free to take into account the economic, social, cultural and political conditions peculiar to their respective countries. However, the secondary aims proposed must at all times be consistent with the primary aim of education.
>
> (ACEA *Bulletin*, p. 4)

The above proclamation was at all times recognized as the unequivocal beacon for the Alberta Catholic Education Association. That it continues to be such for the contemporary provincial Catholic association will be shown in the final section of Chapter X.

The Demise of the Alberta Catholic Education Association

In the October 30, 1950 issue of the ACEA *Bulletin* the editor optimistically proclaimed that "The Alberta Catholic Education Association is now definitely established with a membership which is fairly representative of the Catholic people of the province" (ACEA *Bulletin*, October 30, 1950, p. 1). A year later he reiterated this theme.

> We consider that . . . [the ACEA] is fairly representative of the Catholic people of this province. Our association has the approval and active backing of the hierarchy of this province and our clergy in increasing numbers are giving us their support. The religious orders of Sisters are particularly zealous on our behalf and greatly interested in all that we are trying to do. Catholic parents who are

> concerned about the Catholic faith of their little ones are with us one hundred per cent. So far as the present is concerned therefore, we have little to complain about.
>
> (ACEA *Bulletin*, October 4, 1951, p. 1)

But it appears that there were issues to be "concerned" about. Judging by the number of bulletins that included an appeal for more members, it would seem the ACEA did not have ubiquitous support. And from the exhortations calling for the organization of more Regions it could be concluded that grassroots participation, particularly in rural areas, was not firmly established.

Despite this situation the ACEA continued its work. The *Bulletin* was published regularly and punctually and annual conventions continued to be scheduled and held. But this too came to an end. In the April 18, 1962 issue of the *Western Catholic* the following news item appeared:

> ACEA
> CONVENTION
> POSTPONED
>
> The Annual Convention of Alberta Catholic Education Association, usually held on Wednesday and Thursday of Easter Week, is cancelled for this year. There is some possibility of the Convention being held in the fall after school-opening. Members are asked NOT to send in membership dues until solicited when the Alberta Catholic Education Association bulletin is published—next publishing date likely in October.
>
> Reverend Brother Prudent, President.
> Right Reverend J. A. MacLellan, Provincial Secretary.

To the writer's knowledge the postponement was permanent. No convention was held in the fall of 1962 nor at any future date. About the same time the Association stopped publishing the ACEA *Bulletin*. And so for the next few years the organization remained dormant. Then on February 28, 1966 the death-knell was officially sounded. On that date, under the Societies Dissolved section of the Societies Act notice was published that the Alberta Catholic Education Association was dissolved.

What were the reasons for the Association's failure to garner sufficient support and avoid moribundity? A number of reasons have been postulated. R. D. Gruenwald, President of the Association in 1954, suggested that its demise was the consequence of a lack of "concrete substance." In his words, "It was a paper association." Implicitly Father Kindervater, also a former executive member of the Association, corroborated this view. Crucial issues were discussed in the *Bulletin*; local problems were repeatedly discussed at the Regions' meetings. Summing this up, Father Kindervater concluded that the ACEA was "studied to death."

There may be more significance to Father Kindervater's comment than is immediately apparent. It is possible that the members of the ACEA were, to use Eric Hoffer's terminology, typical men of words—men who ready the ground for a mass movement by their skill in the spoken or written word. But, as Hoffer continues, the hatching of an actual movement requires the work of practical men of action. Perhaps the ACEA lacked sufficient members of the latter category.

But it would be remiss not to mention another plausible reason that may have significantly contributed to the dissolution of the Association. As Father Kindervater emphasized, the ACEA did not have sufficient financial resources to be a dynamic and effective organization. In his words, the Association did not have a "war chest." And without this resource no organization survives.

Then, from inauspicious beginnings, there emerged another Catholic provincial organization. At the Convention of Alberta Catholic Trustees held in Edmonton on Saturday, January 18, 1958, the delegates were unanimous that there should be an Alberta Catholic Trustees' Association. It was also unanimously agreed that the new association would need the support of all Catholic School Boards, of the Catholic clergy and the Catholic public and considerable financial support. In a relatively brief period of time the Trustees' association had sufficient support and financial resources to ensure successful operation. At the Convention referred to the general sentiment was that there would be no clash of activity between the two provincial organizations. It soon became evident that there was certainly a commonality of interests plus the potential for those with the "war-chest" to take over the responsibilities formerly assumed by the ACEA. In time, all this was to be realized and the Alberta Catholic Education Association ceased to exist.

Today many Catholics are not aware that the ACEA ever existed. And this is regrettable. For though the organization was active for only fourteen years it merits recognition and commemoration. It was, after all, the very first province-wide organization that sought to identify and resolve, to the degree possible, the problems that were inherent in Catholic education. In addition, the Association made a very concerted effort to involve Catholics from all walks of life in those issues that continue to be of supreme importance. In many ventures it was successful. But the ACEA's greatest triumph was that it demonstrated that conscientious people can be united and that in unity there is strength. It may be that this "paper organization" did more to facilitate the formation of the Catholic Trustees' Association [the men of action] than has been considered.

CHAPTER IX

ALBERTA—1957-1971

Political Developments

> Aberhart loved a fight; Manning prefers peace but will not back away from a fight.
>
> Aberhart shook his fist; Manning has put his hands behind his back and squeezed the knuckles white rather than lose his temper.
>
> Aberhart was a talker; Manning is a listener. He has made a great asset of his powers as a listener, and tells his sons Keith and Preston: 'You can't learn anything when you're talking.'
>
> Aberhart thought there was one side to an argument. If you're arguing one side of a question, Manning will argue the other side even if he agrees with you.
>
> Aberhart was dogmatic: Manning is diplomatic.
>
> Aberhart won friends and influenced people by his fire; Manning does it with his cool perception.
>
> Manning is the better administrator.
>
> (Cashman, 1958, pp. 23-24)

According to Tony Cashman such were the attributes of the man who assumed the office of premier on June 3, 1943 (See p. 184, Chapter VII). That these attributes stood him in good stead is seen by Manning's record of service and the duration of his tenure as premier. Neither accomplishment was easy though the second perhaps constituted a greater challenge. To begin, he succeeded the dynamic Aberhart, perhaps the only man capable of making the 1935 breakthrough. Second, at 34, Manning as premier was the youngest man in the government. And though at the beginning he sought the advice of the older men in the cabinet, the final decision was always his own. Finally, Manning "had inherited a government . . . that had been badly rocked at the polls by a dissatisfied electorate, a government that had lost some of its sense of direction" (Barr, 1974, p. 120).

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Within four years of assuming office, this unassuming man had reaffirmed the government's credibility, restored the party's solidarity, and successfully muted the party's ideological dissonance. In the words of Barr,

> In all this he was to prepare the way—perhaps unwittingly—for the major turning point in Alberta's social and economic history: the discovery of oil at Leduc in 1947. Between 1943 and 1947, he built the foundation of what was to become the Manning era.
>
> (Barr, 1974, p. 120)

Blemished only slightly by the 1955 election results, the image of the Social Credit party was practically irreproachable while Manning remained at the helm. With the exception noted, the results of the elections he called speak for themselves (See Table 31).

Table 31

Election Results—1944–1967

Year	*Candidates Elected*	*P.C. of S.C. Members Elected to Legislature*
1944	51	87.9
1948	51	89.5
1952	52	86.7
1955	37	60.7
1959	61	95.3
1963	60	95.2
1967	55	84.6

As was mentioned earlier, such public endorsement was a tribute to Manning's ability "to manage the government efficiently, honestly, and even with vision, as it was swept forward on the crest of . . . [the] huge economic wave" (Barr, 1974, p. 132). Also, as did Aberhart, so Manning was able to convince Albertans that,

> Among Canadian political parties and governments . . . [Social Credit] was unique in one important respect.
>
> Only Social Credit stood for Sound Principle, which was taken to mean an unshakeable opposition to high spending, bureaucracy and the Welfare State.
>
> His rhetoric notwithstanding, Manning went along with the general trend to big government; in fact, he owed an important part of his success as a politician to the fact that he knew when to yield to it, when to resist it, and when to seem to resist it. The electorate came to realize . . . that they could have the best of Principle and compromise.
>
> (Barr, 1974, pp. 132-133)

However instrumental were the foregoing to the Golden Age of Social Credit suzerainty, there were other very significant factors that contributed to the success of the Manning era. None perhaps were more important than the humanistic social programs that were implemented during Manning's office.

> The vast windfall of oil revenue was put into a superb network of paved highways, an Educational Foundations Program that reduced inequality of educational opportunity across the province between rich areas and poor, hospital and medical insurance, the country's most generous students' financial assistance program, two superb cultural centers.
>
> In 1966 Alberta not only outspent British Columbia, an equally prosperous province, it spent far more on social programs than its 'sister' Socred government.
>
> (Barr, 1974, p. 134)

Nor was it just the magnitude of these programs that instilled sentiments bordering on reverence. Certainly it was impressive that by 1967, a generation after the discovery of oil, Social Credit's spending had increased three and a half times as fast as its population. But to a 'nation' of followers, what made the social programs inspirational was that they were seen as reflecting not only Manning's ideological inclination but even more so his benevolent fundamentalist leanings. It was a situation strikingly similar to the time when Aberhart first embarked on his political campaign—when to disbelieve was almost to sin.

This is not to denigrate Manning's political career, for in many respects it was truly remarkable. As was noted in an earlier chapter, he made his mark as an independent initiator of progressive yet practical ideas and reforms soon after assuming the premier's office. This continued throughout the Manning era. A summary of some of the trend-setting legislation passed during the 1957 to 1969 period is presented below.

Since oil revolutionized Alberta's economic, social, and political history, it is no surprise that a decade after the discovery of the huge reserve, strict measures were taken to control its production. To this end the Oil and Gas Conservation Act (1957) was passed. The object and application of the Act was:

1. To effect the conservation of the oil and gas resources in the province.
2. To prevent the waste of oil and gas resources in the province.
3. To secure the observance of safe and efficient practices in the locating, spacing, drilling, equipping, completing, reworking, testing, operating, and abandonment of wells.

> 4. To afford each owner the opportunity of obtaining his just and equitable share of the production of any pool.
>
> (*Statutes of the Province of Alberta*, 1957, p. 298)

To oversee the application of the Act, an Oil and Gas Conservation Board was appointed. Consisting of three members, this Board has discharged its responsibilities commendably.

While the above Act protected an invaluable source of revenue, the Liquor Control Act (1957) created an additional means for enhancing the provincial coffers. This Act prohibited, except under government control, all liquor transactions taking place within the province. That it was a lucrative monopoly is evidenced by the fact that in 1966 the regulated sale of alcohol netted the government $32,000,000.

Though the above-mentioned sources brought the government tremendous income, Manning did not ignore the contribution made by Alberta's other natural resources. Certainly he was aware of the historic significance of agriculture. And to guarantee this industry a stable base, assistance was granted to bona fide farmers. Some of this assistance was geared to make rural life more attractive—for example, the Rural Electrification Revolving Fund (1957) and the Farm Improvement Act (1959). The latter guaranteed that the government would repay any bank 50% of any loss sustained in the process of granting a loan to a farmer for home improvements. The improvement loans covered by this guarantee included, among others, monies borrowed to install water systems, sewage systems, central heating, concrete basements, new floors, new roofs, and new siding.

But it was not sufficient just to make urban amenities available to the rural population. Subject to the vagaries of conditions and world marketing, the farmers required other assistance to ensure successful continuity of their operation. Legislation which provided such help included the Wildlife Crop Damage Insurance Act (1961) and the Farm Purchase Credit Act (1936). The Act last mentioned was of particular importance to the healthy survival of the farming industry. For in farming, as in other enterprises, the trend was towards increasingly large-scale operations. This meant that those remaining in agriculture required more land. Hence, the purpose of the Farm Credit Purchase Act was to provide low-cost, long-term credit to farmers for the purchase of farm land.

Other funds were plowed back into comprehensive service programs. In 1957, for instance, the Act to Aid Mothers in the Support of Children was passed. Provisions of the Act provided for payment of allowances to resident mothers supporting children not over sixteen who were widows, whose husbands were in mental wards, sanatoriums or penitentiaries, or who had been deserted for at least two years. That same year the widows' pensions and pensions for the disabled were increased by almost 20%. And those who suffered from chronic affliction were not overlooked. In 1960 the Auxiliary Hospitals Act came into effect to provide treatment for continuing or incurable diseases. Four years later this service was extended to less seriously incapacitated people with the enactment of the Nursing Homes Act. Also in 1964, more stringent measures were taken to ensure higher standards of care for children under the jurisdiction of the welfare department.

Humane measures were also taken in other areas of health care. The Cancer Treatment and Prevention Act (1967), the Alberta Health Plan Act (1967), and the Alberta Health Care Insurance Act (1969) were implemented not only to raise the standard of health services throughout the province but also to alleviate the psychological stress in families where some member/s experienced some affliction. In this area Alberta still stands as a model relative to most of the world's free countries.

Another area that ranked high among the priorities of the Social Credit government was education. Considered vitally important from the inception of the party, this attitude did not change during the Manning era. Affirming this was the Students Assistance Act (1959). To promote educational upgrading, grants, loans, bursaries, prizes, or scholarships were made available to residents of Alberta who undertook studies at the University of Alberta, the Banff School of Fine Arts, any school of nursing, the Provincial Institute of Technology and Art, any agricultural school, or any high school. Five years later funds were also earmarked to pay for assessed university requirements. This included financial assistance for new buildings, alterations, acquisition of land, landscaping, and other facilities. Assistance was also granted to Junior Colleges and even Private Junior Colleges.

Nor was support awarded solely to tangible concerns. To the credit of Manning and his legislature, culture and the arts were not ignored. Among the tributes to this aesthetic concern is The Glenbow Institute Act (1966). As stated in the act,

> [The] objects of the Institute are to promote and encourage the acquisition and diffusion of the knowledge of man, his arts, his history and the nature of the world in which he lives, in such a manner as to best serve the educational and cultural needs of the people of Alberta.
>
> (*Statutes of the Province of Alberta*, 1966, p. 197)

This was followed by the Cultural Development Act (1967) to further promote cultural development in Alberta. To do so, the Minister was empowered to,

> a. carry out surveys, call public meetings, promote publicity campaigns, institute enquiries, disseminate information and initiate policies and measures;
>
> b. conduct workshops, seminars, schools, conferences and exhibitions;
>
> c. engage instructors, lecturers, leaders, and part-time staff and pay them honorarium, fee, commission, salary, or wage as he may establish from time to time. . . .
>
> 5. In order to encourage or assist the orderly cultural development of Alberta or of any person or class of persons within Alberta, the Lieutenant in Council may make grants or award scholarships from moneys appropriated from the legislature, but no such grant or scholarship shall exceed $10,000 in any one year.
>
> (*Statutes of the Province of Alberta*, 1967, pp. 75-76)

Then in 1969 the Human Resource Development Authority Act was passed for the purpose of setting up channels for developing, coordinating, and supervising provincial and regional programs to encourage individuals and communities to develop their human resources to their fullest potential.

The success of efforts designed to develop the potential of the province's material and human resources really rested on the legal pillar cited as the Human Rights Act (1967). Though quite lengthy, the most important clauses of the Act state, unequivocally, that no person or class of persons shall be denied accommodation, services, facilities, or opportunities available to the public on grounds of race, religion, creed, color, ancestry, or place of birth. Though often difficult to enforce, this bill has done much towards the building of a "great Alberta."

The foregoing are but a few of the supportive or innovative programs that were underwritten or subsidized by the Manning administration. Unfortunately these well-intentioned policies were not without disadvantages. "As Jefferson once noted, a government can do nothing for the people without doing something to the people" (Barr, 1974, p. 134). In this case, Manning's ambitious though dedicated endeavours led to the development of Big Government and a plethora of regulatory boards and tribunals. To illustrate, a study compiled in 1960 showed that,

> Boards and regulatory agencies presided over the censorship of films, the production and distribution of oil and gas, the certification of labour unions and arbitration of industrial disputes, the right of entry onto private land for oil exploration, the rights of Hutterite colonies, the sale of securities, the zoning, development and tax assessment of land, the pricing of milk and food, the awarding of assistance to the blind, disabled, elderly, widows and mothers, the pricing of natural gas and electricity, the provision of farm relief, the fixing of working conditions and terms of apprenticeship, the sale of liquor, the compensation of injured workmen and the sterilization of mental defectives—among other things.
>
> (Barr, 1974, p. 134)

Many of these agencies had no affiliation with Manning's "welfare state." Others had their origins in pre–Social Credit days or were anachronistic manifestations of puritanical attempts to regulate morality. The latter was bound to strike a sympathetic chord in Manning, the fundamentalist. And in this role he did not hestitate to condemn what he considered to be degeneracy, e.g., the liberalizing of the liquor laws. But as an astute politician he did not allow his personal beliefs to influence public policy. Instead he simply believed that "the people must be allowed to have their way, for only by having their way, and suffering the consequences, will they come to see the error of their prideful stubbornness" (Barr, 1974, p. 153).

Though this aspect of Manning's career was at times criticized, his image as an honest and efficient administrator remained unscathed. Yet in time he too lost his appeal. Not that this was entirely a reflection on Manning, for after twenty–five years in government even premiership could be boring. More to the point was that people were beginning to question the type of leadership Manning offered and were asking whether or not the time had come to change to a more participatory government. Within such a climate Manning announced his retirement (September 27, 1968).

Into this less than salutary political arena stepped Harry Strom. Having won the leadership convention, Strom had the opportunity to revitalize and redirect the Social Credit party. And in terms of legislation, social policy, and innovative programs, the Strom administration was successful.

> Building on what Manning had left behind, Strom's administration streamlined the civil service . . . created an Ecology Corps to give unemployed students an income and a role to play in environmental protection, began an innovative pre–school program in disadvantaged areas of the largest cities, created Canada's first Department of Environment . . . mounted new initiatives against drug abuse, built a college system across the province, instituted a visionary educational planning program, created an important, new kind of university and improved communications between the civil service and the people.
>
> (Barr, 1974, p. 187)

But all these accomplishments did nothing to regain the popularity and stature Social Credit once enjoyed. "They did not lead to new electoral alliances, new support for Social Credit among traditional critics or renewed support among traditionally sympathetic but independent voters" (Barr, 1974, p. 187). Adding to these disadvantages was the vibrancy of a rejuvenated opposition. Particularly after the 1967 election the Tories, with Peter Lougheed as leader, began acting like a government introducing its own legislation.

From the 1969 session on, Lougheed also benefited from a downswing in the economy. Though this trend was nationwide, Lougheed capitalized on the Socreds' inability to respond to this situation. Much of this was accomplished by building the Tory campaign around the slogan "People First." To that was soon added the slogan—"Now."

> These times of turmoil—of protest—of change—of confrontation—require a government party NOW where its members place people before party. . . . We also look to the future—convinced that this province could be doing much better—that time has run its course—that NOW Alberta needs a new responsible government in touch with the issues and aspirations of the people—a party of the future, not of the past.
>
> (Barr, 1974, p. 235)

With their failure to excite the people and with such dynamic opposition, it is no surprise that the last Social Credit administration, with Strom as premier, lasted only thirty-three months. In the fall election of 1971 the Progressive Conservatives (replicating the Social Credit feat of thirty-six years earlier) were swept into power, winning 49 of the 75 seats in the legislature. With this victory a political era, perhaps never to be duplicated, had come to an end.

Economic Trends

As noted in Chapter VII, the decade following the discovery of the Leduc-Woodbend oil field (1947) was a period of unprecedented prosperity. And this prosperity continued during the closing years of the fifties and throughout the sixties. There were, of course, minor recessions during this period but these "slumps" were more than offset by spurts of rapid expansion. As Table 32 shows, the general economic scenario from 1947 to 1971 was one of steady growth.

Even though a different method for calculating the province's annual "Value of Production" was used in 1963 and the following years, from 1957 to 1971 this value increased 2.6 times. More important is that the percentage of the total national value rose from 8.1 to 9.7— an increase of 1.7 points. Though not an impressive quantitative figure, its significance is evident as a comparative index. Information relevant to this point is presented in Table 33. Note that Alberta's percentage gain was approximately 2.5 times as great as its runner-up, Newfoundland.

Table 32

Net Value of Production and Percentage Analysis—1957-1971 *

Year	*Net Value* *'000*	*P.C. of Total*
1957	1,438,426	8.1
1960	1,565,538	8.1
	† Census Value Added in Goods Producing Industries	
1963	2,047,788	9.0
1966	2,603,423	8.9
1969	3,235,800	9.3
1971	3,825,507	9.8

†Census value added is derived by deducting the cost of materials, fuel, electricity, and process supplies consumed in the production process, from the gross value of output.

Table 33

Net Percentage Increase of the Total Value of Production by Province—Base Years 1957 and 1971 **

Province	*Percentage of Total—1957*	*Percentage of Total—1971*	*Percentage Gain*
Newfoundland	1.1	1.8	0.7
Prince Edward Island	0.2	0.2	0.0
Nova Scotia	2.2	1.9	-0.3
New Brunswick	1.7	1.6	-0.1
Quebec	25.9	23.8	-2.1
Ontario	42.2	42.4	0.2
Manitoba	3.6	3.5	-0.1
Saskatchewan	4.4	4.3	-0.1
Alberta	8.1	9.8	1.7
British Columbia	10.4	10.4	0.0
Yukon Territories & Northwest Territories	0.2	0.3	0.1

Though the increase is attributable to a number of factors, there is no doubt that the expanding oil industry played a major role in this growth. The data in Table 34 illustrate this fact. The importance of this industry to Alberta is unmistakenly evident when contrasted to its contribution to Saskatchewan's economy. As the second largest provincial producer of crude petroleum, Saskatchewan produced only 88,458,641 barrels of this resource in 1971—less than one–quarter of Alberta's output.

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* (*Canada Year Book*. Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1958-1972)

** (*Canada Year Book*, 1957 & 1971)

Table 34

Crude Petroleum Production, Quantity and Value *

Year	*Quantity in Bbls.*	*Value*
1957	137,492,316	355,555,140
1960	130,506,968	302,841,423
1963	171,381,728	433,126,186
1966	203,339,433	522,989,385
1969	290,011,702	740,435,043
1971	371,500,922	1,055,769,236

Facilitating the rapid expansion of the province's oil industry was the development of pipeline construction. First was the short line from the Leduc–Woodbend field to Edmonton, the refinery center. Next was the line from the Redwater field. Many others followed. But soon the provincial refineries could not handle all the oil and it had to be piped to other centers. So by December 1950, the Interprovincial Pipeline from Edmonton to Superior, Wisconsin, U.S.A. was completed—a pipeline that spanned an incredible 1,150 miles. On its heels came the 718 mile Trans–Mountain Pipeline to the West Coast. And soon other lines were built to connect to the Inter–Provincial Line. As well, lines had to be constructed to service the northern fields. MacGregor comments on this development.

> As the northern fields began to produce, other lines were laid to carry their rich product south: a line from the Swan Hills . . . another from the Sturgeon Lake Field. . . . Year by year other lines were laid, heading through the pine forests, over hills and across mighty rivers . . . until finally oil was pumped to Edmonton from the Rainbow area . . . a distance of five hundred airline miles. In due course another line rippled through the foothills . . . and on to Montana and the United States markets. And all of these constitute a few of the major lines.
>
> (MacGregor, 1972, pp. 294–295)

The extent of this network is realized when one recognizes that by 1970 Alberta was covered by over 31,000 miles of petroleum industry pipelines.

Of these 31,000 miles of pipeline, two–thirds transported gas. Once considered a bothersome by–product by oilmen, it was sought for its own sake when it became an exportable commodity. With this came extensive exploration and rewarding discoveries. To illustrate, by the end of 1957 Alberta's 584 wells produced 183,140,820M cubic feet. By

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* *(Canada Year Book, 1958-1972)*

1971 the production of Alberta's wells sky-rocketed to 2,067,247,488M cubic feet.

Integral parts of Alberta's petroleum industry are the many by-product plants; for the raw oil and gas had to be treated before they could be marketed. As a result scores of costly processing plants were constructed throughout the province. Soon they paid dividends. For example, during 1971 these plants, besides treating oil and gas, produced millions of barrels of propane, butane, and pentanes plus.

Also adding to Alberta's oil boom were the oil sand developments. Though the Athabasca oil sand reserve had been known to the White man since 1719, no one had the courage to invest the tremendous necessary capital to exploit this resource. However, when signs of depleting conventional sources appeared, action was taken. Pioneering the venture in 1964 was Great Canadian Oil Sands Limited. By the end of 1971 their plant at Fort McMurray produced a daily average of 42,000 barrels.

Added together, the millions of dollars invested in exploration, pipelines, and refineries were only a small part of the total capital spent by the oil industry. A wide range of subsidiary companies were also formed to service and/or utilize the various aspects of oil and gas production. For example, petrochemical and fertilizer plants were built throughout the province. Then, to meet the needs created by the expanding industrial activity, steel-rolling mills, pipe mills, and cement plants were established. Alberta had finally developed some heavy industry.

Though the oil industry had played an exceptionally significant role in Alberta's economic expansion, other industries also contributed to this growth. Among these was manufacturing. From a $784,480,512 total value of factory shipments of all industries in 1957 this figure rose to $2,080,600,000 in 1971. Important to note, though, is that the character of this industry had changed dramatically in the quarter century following the discovery of Leduc Imperial #1. Until that time (1946) the manufacturing industry had been primarily engaged in processing agricultural products. By 1971 only one-third of the factories were in fields directly related to agriculture.

Nor was it only in the realm of manufacturing that the supremacy of agriculture was undermined. Its long reign as undisputed economic "king" was but a nostalgic memory by 1971. In that year, as Table 35 indicates, agriculture ranked fourth in terms of "census value added in goods-producing industries." This, however, does not deny its continued importance to the province's prosperity. Income from the sale of grain, livestock, and eggs and poultry showed marked dollar increases from 1957 to 1971. To cite one example, income from grain sales (January-

Table 35

Census Value Added in Goods Producing Industries *

Industry	*Value '000*	*Percent*
Agriculture	565,022	14.6
Forestry	10,025	0.3
Fisheries	729	--
Trapping	1,785	--
Mining	1,486,366	38.5
Electric Power	118,538	3.1
Manufacturing	785,347	20.3
Construction	895,412	23.2

October) for the years 1957, 1961, 1965, 1969, and 1971 were $142,281,000, $150,106,000, $227,593,000, $184,946,000 and $265,000,000 respectively.

There is no question, then, that despite brief periods of stagnation, Alberta witnessed marked affluence between 1957 and 1971. A relatively reliable index of this is the growth in wholesale trade for this period, from $656,101,847 to $1,510,090,000. At the personal level this was evident in increased earning power. From an hourly average wage of $1.70 in 1957, the figure rose to $3.22 for the same "average hours worked." As Table 36 reveals, the percentage increase in Alberta's hourly wage was 89.4.

Ta[illegible]

Percentage Increase in Hourly Wages by Province, 1957 and 1970 *

Province	*1957 AV Hourly Wage $*	*1970 AV Hourly Wage $*	*Increase*	*% of Increase*
Newfoundland	1.57	3.05	1.48	94.3
Nova Scotia	1.39	2.56	1.17	84.2
New Brunswick	1.40	2.55	1.15	82.1
Quebec	1.45	2.95	1.50	103.4
Ontario	1.70	3.26	1.56	91.8
Manitoba	1.52	2.89	1.37	90.1
Saskatchewan	1.62	2.87	1.25	77.2
Alberta	1.70	3.22	1.52	89.4
British Columbia	1.95	3.62	1.67	85.6

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* *(Canada Year Book, 1958-1972)*

Though Newfoundland, Quebec, Ontario, and Manitoba show higher percentage increases, it is important to note that employment in these provinces for 1970 was 121.8, 119.3, 131.6, and 117.7 compared to Alberta's 138.2 (using the index where 1961=100). In absolute terms, Alberta's rate of development throughout the sixties exceeded that of all other Canadian regions.

Population and Immigration

Throughout the 1957–1971 period, Alberta's population increased steadily. Table 37 illustrates this trend.

Table 37
Total Population—Alberta—1957-1971 *

Year	*Population*	*Year*	*Population*
1957	1,164,000	1965	1,450,000
1958	1,206,000	1966	1,463,000
1959	1,248,000	1967	1,490,000
1960	1,291,000	1968	1,526,000
1961	1,332,000	1969	1,561,000
1962	1,369,000	1970	1,600,000
1963	1,403,000	1971	1,628,000
1964	1,430,000		

Three features of Alberta's population growth warrant special mention. First, the province's rate of increase was 25 percent higher than the Canadian average rate of increase during this time. Second, the most dramatic population increase occurred in the cities during the sixties. During this time, Alberta's major urban centers, Edmonton and Calgary, literally witnessed a population explosion. Third, during the period examined there was a very marked increase in the school-age population.

The combination of a number of variables accounts for the general population increase. Most important among these variables are mortality, fertility and immigration rates. For the 1956 to 1971 period the mortality rate declined slightly, from 6.9 to 6.5 per thousand. Consequently, this factor had little effect on Alberta's population. In the same interval, the birth rate declined from 31.1 to 18.8 per thousand so it too did not figure prominently in the population increase that occurred in the sixties. Contributing notably to this growth was immigration from abroad and from other parts of Canada. Of the 1,543 million immigrants that entered Canada between 1951 and 1961, the years during which immigration to Canada reached an all-time high, approximately seven percent settled in the urban centers of Alberta. In the next decade, immigration dropped to 785 million. Five and one-half percent of these people came to Alberta. Equally important to the province's population increase was migration from other parts of the nation. This occurred because the oil boom and oil-related industries; services created a high demand for human resources, ranging from the unskilled to the professional.

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* (*Alberta Statistical Review.* Edmonton: Bureau of Statistics, July 1976, p. 3)

As was to be expected, this demand centered in the rapidly industrializing cities, Edmonton and Calgary. In the decade from 1961 to 1971 the population in these two urban areas almost doubled. Meanwhile, most of the lesser cities in the province showed very limited growth. Specific data for each urban center is shown in Table 38.

Table 38

Population of Alberta's Cities—1961 and 1971 *

City	*1961*	*1971*
Edmonton	281,027	438,152
Calgary	249,641	403,319
Lethbridge	35,454	41,217
Red Deer	19,612	27,674
Camrose	6,939	8,673
Lloydminster	5,667	8,691
Wetaskiwin	5,300	6,267
Drumheller	2,931	5,446

A considerable part of the urban population growth was the result of the continuing rural/urban demographic shift. In 1956 the rural population constituted 43.29 percent of the total population. By 1971 this figure had dropped to 26.51 percent.

Sociocultural Developments

> Manning was a builder, and he built well: the tremendous income the government received from oil exploration and production was plowed back into first-rate

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* *(Canada Year Book, 1965 and 1971)*

> schools, universities, hospitals, roads, and social services. Yet in the process of managing these resources. . . . Manning unwittingly laid the basis for a fast-paced, secular society.
>
> (Barr, 1974, p. 132)

That the prosperity brought on by oil helped produce the restless, rootless society of the sixties is indisputable. For just the magnitude of the monies derived from the oil industry would suggest that change would occur. From the time that Imperial Leduc #1 "blew in" to 1970, the province collected over three billion dollars from the oil industry alone. In 1971 this resource produced over $210 million directly. That this money was put to use is evidenced by the fact that by 1964 "Alberta led the nation in per capita spending for education . . . and was well above the national average for per capita spending on welfare, health, sanitation, agriculture, forestry, recreation and culture" (Barr, 1974, p. 133). It was inevitable that such abundance of material riches and such liberal government fiscal policies would facilitate social change.

Immediately evident was the influx of people to the province. The rapid rate of growth in population that had been taking place in the province since the end of World War II (and the discovery of the Leduc-Woodbend oilfield) continued to the early sixties, declined markedly by the mid-sixties, and then regained momentum by the beginning of the next decade (1971). Table 39 illustrates this trend.

Table 39

Population Growth Patterns—1936-1972 *

Year	*Population*	*Increase Since Previous Census*	*Percent Increase*
1936	773,000	42,000	5.7
1941	796,000	23,000	3.0
1946	803,000	7,000	0.9
1951	940,000	137,000	17.0
1956	1,112,000	183,000	19.8
1961	1,332,000	209,000	18.8
1966	1,463,000	131,000	9.8
1971	1,628,000	165,000	11.3

Since 1961, approximately ⅔ of the population increase is attributable to natural increase, and about ⅓ to net immigration.

Again, despite such rapid growth the ethnic/religious plurality of Alberta's population was retained. [See Tables 40 and 41.]

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*(*Alberta Statistical Review*, 1976, p. 18)

Table 40
Population by Ethnic Group *

Ethnic Group	*1951*	*1961*	*1971*
British Isles	451,709	601,755	761,665
French	56,185	83,319	94,660
German	107,985	183,314	231,010
Italian	5,996	15,025	24,805
Jewish	3,935	4,353	7,320
Netherlands	29,385	55,530	58,570
Polish	29,661	40,539	44,325
Russian	15,353	17,952	
Scandinavian	70,929	95,878	98,430
Ukrainian	86,957	105,923	135,510
Other European	38,527	72,274	
Asiatic	7,441	12,503	25,560
Others and/or Unknown	14,228	43,578	101,235
Indian and Eskimo	21,210		44,675

The other significant demographic trend in the period examined was the continuing rural/urban shift. Increasing industrialization in the urban centers and the concomitant increase in employment opportunities, the amenities of city life, and the expansion of large–scale farming were factors responsible for the accelerated tempo in the shift. The pattern of this trend is shown by the data presented in Table 42.

Such movement to the cities (basically Edmonton and Calgary) in a period of unprecedented affluence created a new milieu and a new set of attendant social issues. It is not that the bustling economic activity and the rural–to–urban movement, in and of themselves, created problems. But the conjuncture of these developments with other trends culminated in dramatic changes and social dislocations. For many growing up in this new environment prevailing conditions were accepted as normal. But to those who claimed an "historical vantage point," the lifestyle of the sixties and very early seventies was a debacle in harmonious social relationships. Robert Thomas Allan's views are representative of the latter perspective. Though writing about automobile drivers in 1981 his commentary, according to many born in another era, is an accurate description of Alberta's psychological and emotional climate in the preceding decade. Two excerpts are illuminating.

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* (*Census of Canada.* 1951, 1961 & 1971, Table 32-1; Bulletin SP-2, Int; Cat. 92-762, p. 6)

Table 41

Population by Religious Denomination—1951-1972 *

Religious Denomination	*1951*	*1961*	*1971*
Adventist	4,808		5,210
Anglican	122,980	156,630	170,230
Baptist	34,720	42,430	49,710
Brethren & United Brethren			865
Buddhist	2,473		2,280
Christian (and Reformed)			18,940
Christian Science	1,835		
Church of Christ	1,563		2,400
Church of God (of Nazarene)			3,930
Confucian			130
Doukhobor			200
Evangelical Church	7,370		42,795
Free Methodists			1,205
Greek Catholic	37,514	35,260	1,760
Greek Orthodox	40,199	47,353	47,165
Hutterite			6,100
International Bible			
Jehovah's Witnesses			17,930
Students' Association			
Jewish	4,626	6,045	6,260
Lutheran	87,364	122,520	133,045
Mennonite	13,528	16,269	14,645
Moravian			
Mormon	18,343		31,085
Pentecostal	9,499	15,112	23,100
Plymouth Brethren			300
Presbyterian	55,004	55,337	57,185
Protestant			
Reformed Church			
Roman Catholic	186,312	298,741	391,390
Salvation Army	2,405		4,645
United Church of Canada	276,551	418,927	456,925
Other Denominations	32,405	117,320	31,780
Not Stated			108,410
Congregationalists (See United Church of Canada)			
Methodists (See United Church of Canada)			

> [For half the drivers I see today] rules, patterns, civilized ideas, like orderliness . . . mean nothing. Courtesy has just disappeared. Young drivers waiting for a light to change rev up their engines to make old pedestrians move fast so they would not be there when the light turns green. They honk whenever they want anything, like traffic, to move, and make turns by just heading in a straight line for where they would like to be.

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* (*Census of Canada*, 1951, 1961, and 1973. Table 40-19; Bulletin SP-3, Int.; Cat. 92-763, p. 7)

Table 42
The Rural/Urban Shift—1905-1971 *

Year	*Rural Population (% of Total)*	*Urban Population (% of Total)*
1901	75.00	25.00
1906	68.65	31.35
1911	63.20	36.80
1916	61.97	38.03
1921	62.14	37.86
1926	61.51	38.49
1931	61.89	38.11
1936	62.95	37.05
1941	61.48	38.52
1946	55.92	44.08
1951	52.13	47.87
*1956	43.28	56.72
1961		
1966	31.19	68.81
1971	26.54	73.46

> I saw a driver . . . knock a man down, stay in his car and, when the man got up and limped in a daze around the fender, ask him from his window if he was all right and drove off as if he were practicing for his next accident.
>
> (*Macleans*, September 28, 1981, p. 9)

Allan wrote for the general public and was responsive to its penchant for the melodramatic. But he went beyond hyperbole, for the callousness that he portrayed is only ubiquitous in the severest and most extreme social conditions. Such conditions never did exist in Alberta. Yet there is no doubt that life during the sixties was much more impersonal than in any preceding era. The demographic shift and concomitant urban concentration undermined the traditional rural intimacy and mutual help and brought in place anonymity and impersonal relations. This change in social relations was part of a much more dramatic and general upheaval—specifically, the breakdown of society's traditional institutions.

Contributing to this breakdown, while simultaneously being a consequence of the social entropy, was the Albertan changing *Weltanschauung*. Alberta before 1956 was basically a rural society and as such retained its agrarian outlook. This is understandable. Where a society's fortunes are largely determined by the vagaries of natural forces so is its world view. But with increased industrialization and urbanization this dependence was severed and, concomitantly, worldly experiences and the *Weltanschauung* are altered. Such was the case in Alberta. Further, when one takes into account the affluence of the fifties that continued throughout the sixties and the "liberalizing" effects of World War I and II, it is understandable why Albertans in the sixties perceived the world in different terms than in any preceding decade.

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* (Calculated from statistics obtained from *Census of Canada*. Ottawa: Canada Bureau of Statistics.)

One concrete manifestation of this different perception was a general breakdown in the authority of the Church as each of its fundamental assumptions was taken to task. Its once unassailable metaphysical views, only academically questioned by the Realists, were now attacked by twentieth century pragmatism and Deweyan experimentalism. Similarly the latter rejected the Church's traditional ontological premises. That man was at rock bottom mind or spirit was disclaimed by many in favor of the view that he was a psycho-biological organism with innate dispositions and appetites that had evolved over the millennia. Also, widespread rejection of revelation and authority as instruments of knowledge and the deification of empiricism as the only valid epistemological experience further undercut the authority of the Church. And its teleology, Revelations notwithstanding, was too fatalistic and onerous for mass acceptance in a world where new gods held out concrete and relatively immediate promise for techno-electronic utopias. Finally, even its role in aesthetics was usurped. Historically the guardian of the western world's ethics and morals, the Church had certainly been an influential determinant of public attitudes and behavior in Alberta. From the early missionaries down to the Social Credit movement the evangelical zeal and intent are obvious. But over the years the influence too was inexorably eroded until in the sixties the Church lost its place of preeminence as the final ethical and moral arbitrator. In that decade its authority succumbed to a perspective of relativistic atomism. Alberta had finally joined the ranks of other western urbanized areas.

In the midst of "changing realities" the erosion of the Church's authority was but one instance of the social dislocations that occurred in the sixties. A case in point was the breakdown in the stability of the nuclear family. Once a sacrosanct institution, this social unit was severely tested in the sixties. And though it did not collapse, it certainly faltered. Just the dramatic increase in the number of divorces granted during the sixties as compared to earlier decades supports this point (See Table 43).

Table 43

Dissolutions of Marriage (Divorces) and Rates in Alberta—1921-1971 *

Year	*Rate Per 100,000*	*Number of Divorces*	*Decade Totals*
1921	15.1	89	
1922	21.8	129	
1923	14.8	88	
1924	19.8	118	
1925	16.8	101	
1926	25.3	154	
1927	23.4	148	
1928	26.3	173	
1929	21.5	147	
1930	21.3	151	
1931	21.4	157	1,455
1932	20.3	150	
1933	18.4	138	
1934	22.4	170	
1935	29.4	225	
1936	28.2	218	
1937	33.4	259	
1938	34.7	271	
1939	34.6	272	
1940	34.7	274	
1941	39.1	311	2,288
1942	48.3	375	
1943	52.6	413	
1944	59.9	484	
1945	71.2	575	
1946	119.8	962	
1947	106.8	881	
1948	76.2	651	
1949	67.1	594	
1950	58.5	534	
1951	62.7	589	
1952	64.7	630	6,688
1953	59.6	603	
1954	57.7	610	
1955	57.5	627	
1956	61.0	685	
1957	62.4	726	
1958	61.6	743	
1959	67.0	836	
1960	73.7	951	
1961	78.0	1,039	6,820
1962	79.2	1,084	
1963	90.4	1,268	
1964	97.1	1,389	
1965	93.0	1,348	
1966	107.1	1,567	
1967	116.5	1,736	
1968	125.7	1,916	
1969	221.0	3,446	
1970	236.4	3,771	
1971	224.3	3,656	31,181

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*(*Statistics Canada*, 1971-76, pp. 72-73)

The dramatic upsurge in the divorce rate, particularly after 1968, was not solely the consequence of a changed world view or liberal morality. Only the conjuncture of a number of factors could have brought about this result. To illustrate, during the time when divorce rates sky-rocketed, divorce laws had been liberalized, the economy was healthy, and employment and career opportunities for women were at an all-time high. In itself the latter condition was of signal importance. Abused or married women, disenchanted with domesticity, could now terminate a relationship without having to accept a penurious or welfare existence.

Nor did married women ignore the employment opportunities. As Table 44 indicates, over the decades more and more women (single and married) entered the labor force.

Table 44

*Alberta's Labor Force (***Female***) by Marital Status* *

Year	*Total*	*Single*	*Married*	*Widowed*	*Divorced*	*Single % of Total*	*Married % of Total*
1951	62,629			4,836	1,255		
1961	127,550	40,254	76,792	8,139	2,365	31.6	60.2
† 1971	281,035	70,800	187,745	22,490		25.2	66.8

† (The figures for this census year are the number of females who worked in 1970.)

The proportional increase in the number of married women that entered the labor force brought changes in the structure and organization of the family unit. As more and more couples went to work more and more preschool and elementary children required *loco-parental* care. This not only changed the fabric of the nuclear family but also created a need for more and more *loco-parental* care for many preschool and elementary children. To meet this need new institutions emerged, the "baby-sitter" and the daycare center. Other ramifications of the changing nature and function of the family were interrelated with other social trends and developments. For the role of the nuclear family was altered not only by the redefinition of the woman's place in society, it was also altered by the greater acceptance of emphatic child rearing practices. Dr B. Spock was a household name in the sixties. So along with "absentee parenting," liberalized ethical and moral norms, emphasis on individual rights and human dignity, and "almost sinful" tolerance of antisocial behavior, the foregoing contributed to the weakening of traditional forms of social control. Though many extolled the virtues of fewer and fewer restraints, such a milieu too exacted a price. One was the sharp increase in the occurrence of some forms of social disease. To cite one example, the incidence of gonorrhea rose dramatically between 1953 and 1972.

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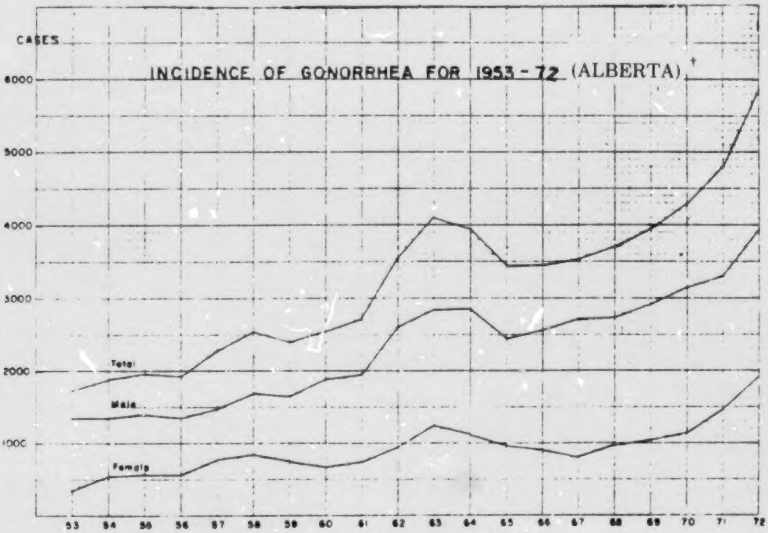
* (*Statistics Canada*, 1951, 1961 & 1971)



But as in all social phenomena, the widespread occurrence of this disease resulted from the coalescence of a wide range of interrelated factors. In addition to those stated above, at least three others deserve mention. These include the "psychological set" that comes with urban anonymity, abounding affluence, and a large transient labor force immersed in the first and in pursuit of the second.

Such variables also had other ramifications. Among these was the increase in violent crimes. Even given the unreliability of crime statistics, the trends portrayed are informative. For instance, it is significant that in 1966 there were 2.08 times as many charges issued for "indictable offences against the person" than were issued in 1953 (979 as compared to 470). Also illuminating is that for the 1961 to 1966 period Alberta's average annual rate of convictions for indictable offences per

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†(Hanna, Juchli, & Collis, 1973, p. 5)

100,000 urban population was the highest in Canada. Though referring to a later era, Professor Hackler's comments concerning the province's high crime ratio is relevant to the situation in the sixties.

> Crime is endemic in a boom . . . [society] because of the torn community fabric. There are no informal social controls, and no obligation to society, because there is nobody to answer to. In a mobile society, there is less societal shame since criminals aren't forced to face friends and neighbors. As well, of course, Alberta's reputation for prosperity . . . [attracted] those looking for easy money.
>
> (*Alberta Report*, October 16, 1981, p. 36)

And those looking for easy money are more likely to transgress individual rights and commit acts of violence.

Paralleling the adult deviance pattern was the delinquency rate. From a total of 602 appearances before the courts in 1957 the number increased to 2,922 in 1969. Again this upsurge was a manifestation of the breakdown of yet another traditional social structure, specifically, the final decline of patriarchy during the fifties. With this came greater freedom and the tendency, particularly in the 1960s, for parents to place considerably greater trust in the peer group. Quickly this filtered down as freedoms once associated with university-age students were appropriated by adolescents. With access to greater allowances and greater mobility made possible by the automobile, this group gained tremendous autonomy.

And so the teenagers were breaking out of their social isolation. By the mid-fifties, in the initial stages of the under-thirty/over-thirty split, the youth were already rebelling against the perceived miasma of adult conventions. Personifying this revolt was the teenage idol, Elvis Presley. W. A. Harbinson's comments regarding the role of the latter in the youth rebellion are illuminating.

> By 1957 he had taken his own measure, and he knows that by scaring the sheep he will capture the lambs.
>
> He loves his parents, worships God and God's country, is grateful for everything he's been given—a most loyal son. Yet once in the spotlights, with his sharp eyes highlighted, he sneers and beseeches, seduces and surrenders, spits defiance at everything good children should revere, is no less than the sinner incarnate, the hooligan king. He is the most contradictory image to be placed on the American landscape—and he's marvellous to copy.
>
> (Harbinson, 1976, p. 33)

To this Arnold Shaw adds,

> Presley's impact was troubling to adults because his influence seemed more nonmusical than musical. It was both. Musically speaking, his disks were danceable.

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> However, the intensity of teenage reaction suggested that youngsters were responding to him for deeper psychological, emotional, and social responses. To them, he was in fact the first rock symbol of teenage rebellion. . . . Regardless of whether parents were aware of the Negro–sexual origins of the phrase 'rock 'n' roll,' Presley impressed them as the visual and aural embodiment of sex.
>
> Youngsters could thus vicariously enjoy the forbidden without facing the responsibility, or suffering the cost.
>
> (Shaw, 1969, p. 16)

This toying with sex through song was, in effect, the consequence of frustration in the face of authority, originating in suppressed hostility. But because this hostility was suppressed, the youth neither identified the loci of their frustrations nor expressed the purpose of their revolt.

All this was to change in the sixties. In this decade the youth coveted the ideals of brasher idols. It is true that Presley's delivery was hypnotic and more than suggestive, particularly when he did his special thing. This special thing was to "take hold of the mike, pull it down at an angle, then gyrate his pelvis . . . while his right fist swathes through the hot air: a blatant, sadistic rape" (Harbinson, 1976, p. 33). But seductive as were his gyrations, his lyrics were symbolic. Not so with the newer rock 'n' rollers like the Beatles. Their rendition of "I'm Happy Just to Dance With You" in 1965 was the "vanguard of a wholesale introduction of Eastern temper and ideals to the youth culture." And in that same year the concept of drug use permeated "Rubber Soul." By 1967 these heroes of the teenage cult spoke openly about taking LSD and everyone kept looking for drug references in "Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band" and in "Revolver."

But it was not only in musical references that drugs were sought. By the late sixties a host of drugs, many alien to parents, became commonplace, especially to the hippies. For that matter not only hippies but many "teeny–boppers" used drugs, often as a background for existence. Needless to say this vogue was a matter of concern. This was demonstrated by the city of Edmonton when in 1970 a committee was struck to report on drug abuse. The statement of the problem in the committee's *Summary of Proposal* accurately mirrors the importance attached to this problem.

> The problem which we are dealing with is drug abuse. In particular, we are concerned with its epidemic nature, especially in our youth. Statistics supplied by the City of Edmonton Police Department and the University of Alberta Hospital give us little reason to be complacent about the problem.*

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*A Report on Drug Abuse in the City of Edmonton to the Mayor's Executive Committee on Drug Abuse, presented by John F. Brosseau, Chairman, Mayor's Technical Advisory Committee on Drug Abuse, December 16, 1970, p. 12.

As Table 45 reveals, there was a continuing increase in drug abuse.

Table 45

Summary of Drug Arrests in Edmonton—1966-70 *

1966.	17 arrests
1967.	77 arrests
1968.	191 arrests
1969.	338 arrests
1970.	403 arrests

Further evidence of this increase was issued by Dr. H. W. Kuckeretz, who was in charge of the emergency ward at the University of Alberta Hospital. He maintained that in 1970 the ward was handling approximately three times as many cases of drug abuse as it had in the previous year.

Also symptomatic of teenagers breaking out of their social isolation was their changing patterns of sexual behavior. Again a number of factors converged to precipitate this change. Important among these was earlier physiological maturity. The age of puberty and menarche, for example, dropped approximately four months per decade producing by the sixties' unprecedented levels of physical precocity. Also, knowledge of sex was becoming widespread long before puberty and consequently there was less trauma associated with sexual awakening.

Biology was not the sole determinant of such changes. Schools, churches, and doctors had become more accepting of adolescent sexuality, no matter how moralistic were their pronouncements on the subject.

> Today the traditional anxiety is still plainly evident, but the emphasis is now as much on preventing socially undesirable consequences of early sexual experience as on condemning the act itself.
>
> (Gilles, 1981, p. 188)

Considering the above it is no surprise that the sexual behavior patterns of youth had changed.

Nor was the youth revolt confined to changes towards drugs, sex, and the benign changes in hair and dress styles. More significant was the sociopolitical and psychocultural revolution which occurred chiefly in the children of professionals, high-ranking civil servants, and the upper-middle class. In the first (the sociopolitical revolution) were those who demanded that Canadian (and Albertan) society include as many persons as possible into the mainstreams of political, economic, and social life. Members of the second revolution questioned the meaning and quality of life in an industrial setting and rejected the human, bureaucratic, and ecological price paid to attain the existing levels of industrialization.

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*(Brosseau, 1970, p. 12)

Generally, the preceding movements attracted many young men and women (those in their late teens or early twenties) who were either college or university students. Though their protests and their actions were certainly made public, at no time throughout the restless sixties was their behavior as militant as that demonstrated by their counterparts in other areas of Canada or the United States. So despite the changes that had occurred over the past six decades, Alberta still retained much of its rural reserve.

Although certain attributes of a pioneer rural life were retained, more and more people across the province took on the trappings of their "urban cousins." This was made possible by extensive highway building programs, expanded telephone services, and an ever-increasing network of rural power lines—transportation and service facilities which made urban amenities available and cultural stimulation accessible to a greater number of Albertans. To be made accessible presupposed availability, and this in turn demanded the fostering of the arts in the form of subsidies. Such expenditure paid its own form of dividend. In the words of MacGregor,

> Although scarcely noticed by the public, the money . . . [so spent] probably brought more real value per dollar than many a million spent on material needs. Such financial help has brought into being the magnificent auditoriums in Calgary and Edmonton and lesser centers in smaller communities. It has built the enthralling Provincial Museum in Edmonton and the Banff School of Fine Arts, which from small beginnings in 1933 has developed to a world famous center. New and striking libraries have been built to lay the written word before an increasingly interested populace. In 1970, for instance, the University of Alberta's library tallied up its one-millionth book.
>
> (MacGregor, 1972, p. 300)

Fortunately the prosperity of the sixties brought more than material riches and appreciation and patronage of the arts. Along with this cultural renaissance was the effort, spearheaded by Preston Manning, Erik Schmidt, and Jim Ergil, to reclaim the Social Credit tradition of humanism. The first step taken toward creating this "new party look" was the creation of the nation's first true Department of Youth (1966). However it was only with the formation of the Alberta Service Corps (1967), a volunteer social action group oriented to serving the poor and disadvantaged, that the Youth Department became a dynamic portfolio.

Ranking high among the concerns of these two institutions was the plight of the Indians and Métis. It is to Manning's credit that he responded to this need by appointing Jim Whitford as head of the government's Community Development Branch. Throughout the early and mid-sixties Whitford and his men worked in the Métis and Indian communities to develop the potential of Native leadership. By 1966 the "program began to break into the headlines as its activities resulted in growing action" (Barr, 1974, p. 146). A year later the campaign against poverty was formalized by the tabling of a White Paper on Human Resource Development.

Paralleling Alberta's concern for the indigent was the interest in the great national debate of the 1960s over the question of relations between Canadians of French and British origin. This debate led to the appointment of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism: "to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races." The Commission also referred to "the contribution made by other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada, and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution." At the provincial level there too was sincere concern about this issue. And justly so, for "Alberta's ethnic mixture . . . [had] resulted in a tapestry of arts to which a dozen or so countries have contributed" (MacGregor, 1972, p. 300).

To help preserve this rich cultural heritage while simultaneously promoting opportunities for future Canadians to retain their ethnic identities and appreciate diverse cultures, the provincial government began laying the groundwork for the implementation of multicultural programs. Added to this overdue need were the tensions precipitated by the breakdown of traditional institutions, referred to earlier. In face of this, it is no surprise that authorities again turned to education as a panacea for social ills.

Political, Economic and Sociocultural Factors—Their Implications For Education

As noted previously, in the 1935 election the Social Credit party won fifty-six of the sixty-three provincial seats. Of the fifty-six member team, eleven were school teachers. And when Aberhart won a seat another educator joined the Social Credit ranks. But he did not merely join the ranks, for subsequent to his election Aberhart assumed both the office of Premier and the Minister of Education portfolio. The fact that he shouldered the responsibilities for both these offices and that almost one-fifth of the Social Credit members of the legislature were teachers stood the teaching profession in good stead. Along with many of his colleagues, Aberhart (formerly a teacher and principal) was acutely aware of the deplorable teaching conditions in the thirties. Such empathy certainly left its imprint on the early legislation that was passed to rectify some of the injustices in this profession. Further, the goals of education, particularly those of progressive education, coalesced with Aberhart's political and socioeconomic messianism and his teleological ideals. This convergence was another reason for the ideological, political, and financial support that Aberhart's administration granted the teaching profession and education in general.

It appears that this commitment was retained even after Aberhart was no longer at the party's helm. That the Social Credit track record remained enviable is evident in the progressive educational measures that were endorsed by the legislature during the period considered in this chapter.

Primary among these were the recurring amendments to the Teachers' Retirement Fund Act. First enacted in 1939, the original Act provided for a pension of a mere $25 per month. Other provisions included in the Act were as follows:

1. Teachers and school boards each contributed 3 percent of the teachers' salaries, deducted by the department of education from provincial grants to the school systems. The latter in turn deducted the teachers' contributions from their cheques.
2. One-sixth of teachers' contributions for the first five years were preempted to provide pensions for newly retiring teachers.
3. The provincial government provided space and paid one-half of the pensions.
4. The fund was controlled by a board of four administrators, two of whom were nominated by the ATA.

That the Social Credit government was aware of the many deficiencies of this legislation is seen by the number of times the act was altered—twice prior to 1957 and then at fifteen separate instances between 1957 and 1971.

While collegial empathy and ideological compatibility contributed to the passage of legislation favorable to the teaching profession and education, there is no doubt that economic conditions were the most potent force in this arena. Although the Teaching Profession Act was very important for successful bargaining, improved salary grids were inextricably tied to economic recovery and the subsequent oil boom. Note that in 1935–36 the average salary rate for all schools was $1,101.47 and that within the next decade it rose only $699.21, a 63.5 percent increase. But in the ten-year period after World War II and the discovery of oil, the average salary rate for all schools increased by $1,800.01, a percentage increase of 103.3. By 1966–67 the average had risen to $6,643.07 and to $9,522.28 by 1971. When compared to the net percentage increase of the total value of production for the province, for the 1957 to the 1971 period, the average teacher salary increase was very favorable—163 percentage gain for the former as contrasted to a 261 percent salary rise. Obviously the political, economic, and social climate was conducive to the changes that were achieved in the teaching profession.

It was not only teachers that benefited from an affluent economy and supportive government policies. Particularly during the sixties every facet of education was generously funded enabling numerous innovative programs to be initiated, improved, and expanded. From just two sources of data the extent of government maintenance can be assessed and the subsequent instructional possibilities extrapolated. The two sources are listed in Table 46.

Table 46

Statement Showing Grants, Tax Reduction Subsidy, Other Grants in All School Divisions, Districts, and Counties *

Year	*Grant*	*Year*	*Grant*
1957	29,259,657	1964	130,141,199
1958	35,292,922	1965	142,372,589
1959	40,671,253	1966	165,596,294
1960	45,719,226	1967	190,949,879
		1968	209,540,974
	School Foundation Program	1969	Not Available
		1970	280,607,330
1961	106,337,577	1971	302,865,586
1962	109,480,126		
1963	115,933,410		

As seen in Table 46, at the fourteenth legislature of the Province of Alberta a new system of school support was introduced, The Alberta Foundation Program of School Finance (*Statutes of Alberta*, Session of the Fourteenth Legislative Assembly, Chapter 71, School Act, Section 304a, p. 370). The rationale for this program is listed here:

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* (*Fifty-Third to the Sixty-Seventh Annual Report of the Department of Education.* **Edmonton: L. S. Wall, Queen's Printer, 1958-1972).**

1. The main grant should be of an equalization type.
2. Its purpose should be to raise local school revenues up to some previously defined level.
3. The previously defined level . . . should be set realistically so that it compares closely to the cost of essential services at current prices.
4. All school units should raise tax funds at a common mill rate to provide their share of the foundation program.
5. The balance of the foundation program should be secured by grant.

The foundation program represented the Province's first attempt to establish a rationale for financial partnership between provincial and local jurisdictions. The initial level of support provided by the province was established by the Lieutenant Governor after considering the amount of funds produced by the uniform levy on equalized assessments and the general revenues of the Province appropriated for this purpose. According to the 1961 draft, grants were allocated according to needs in six different categories: (1) Instruction; (2) Teachers; (3) Instructional Aids and Materials; (4) Transportation; (5) Administration; and (6) Capital Expenditure.

With modifications to the 1961 Schedule, the Foundation Program was a relatively efficient and effective financing structure, at least for the public school sector. Qualified support for this claim are the increased per-pupil expenditures on education. Note the data in Table 47.

Table 47

Per Pupil Expenditure on Education
All Schools Per Year (Enrollment) *

Year	*Expenditure*	*Year*	*Expenditure*
1946–47	$ 99.00		
1956–57	$250.03	1964–65	$417.60
1957–58	$272.66	1965–66	$449.14
1958–59	$301.46	1966–67	$503.78
1959–60	$325.00	1967–68	$571.68
1960–61	$348.24	1968–69	$652.05
1961–62	$369.32	1969–70	$726.37
1962–63	$381.28	1970–71	$794.61
1963–64	$395.98	1971–72	$886.96

The percentage increase per-pupil expenditure on education from 1956–57 to 1970–71 was 218. This represents almost a two and one-half times as great a percentage increase than the hourly wage increase gained by workers in Alberta's key industries.

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* *(Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1957-1972)*

Why, then, was there such a tremendous investment in education? Some of the reasons have already been cited. One of key importance has not been noted, perhaps because of its obviousness. As Alberta's economy shifted dramatically from a one-crop economy to diversified industrialization there arose growing demand for skilled laborers. Despite significant immigration this need was not filled. Responsive to provincial needs, the Social Credit administration injected tremendous funds into schemes that would provide the needed manpower—from the construction of technical institutions and expansion of courses offered, to attractive student assistance plans. Yet despite the attention paid to pragmatic needs, humane concerns were not ignored. Increased funding was also made available to facilitate not only the implementation of educational programs geared to develop the potential of the normal child but also to assist those within the entire range of learning disabilities.

That the government supported such ambitious enterprises is not surprising. As mentioned earlier, rapid demographic growth, urbanization, accelerated industrialization and concomitant labor demands, record-setting revenues, and other related developments in themselves would have stimulated increased funding for education if only to meet technological requirements and entrenched demands for formal schooling. But there were also other reasons, some complementary.

Among these were the fundamentalist perspectives of Aberhart, Manning, Strom, and a good number of their cohorts. For the period considered in this chapter, Manning's views were most relevant. Though sensitive to the "pulse of the people," Manning's confirmed beliefs were frequently in conflict with public desires. Illustrative was his opinion regarding the liberalization of the liquor laws. Speaking on this theme in his February 5, 1966 "Back to the Bible" broadcast, Manning proclaimed that "in any unregenerate society, the will of the people is bound to come into conflict with the will of God."

Like most Evangelicals, Manning believed that what Alberta (and the rest of the world) needed was a return to literally-interpreted Christian fundamentals. Yet despite such theocratic convictions he was responsive to public demands, reconciling the apparent paradox between action and precept with an uncanny pragmatism—namely, that "people must be allowed to have their way, for only by having their way and suffering the consequences will they come to see the error of their prideful stubborness" (Barr, 1974, p. 153).

But the basic social forces converged to produce a secular, hedonistic society that complicated, if not scuttled, Manning's plans. Barr describes this situation adequately.

> With urbanization and tremendous expansion in the province's educational system, came rapid changes in attitudes and values. People were becoming 'citified' and 'secularized.'
>
> Prosperity increased the propensity to consume, and this in turn drew Albertans more deeply into the great commercial and advertising net of the North American economy. Organized religion and traditional small town values . . . [waned.] Alberta's stereotyped reputation for powerful religiosity became more and more unreal.
>
> The greatest problem Manning faced . . . was that he symbolized a set of values . . . that was increasingly out of step with the Alberta of . . . the sixties.
>
> In 1961 Manning was still preaching that the traditional values were best, that the family was the foundation for society; but the traditional values were fast disappearing and the family was under attack from all quarters. In 1961 Manning was still a supporter of the old morality. . . . But in cities and even many of the small towns and rural areas . . . morality was rapidly changing: sexual freedom was growing, drinking was common, the drug revolution was just around the corner.
>
> (Barr, 1974, pp. 150–151)

As the sixties progressed, these social trends became an integral part of Alberta's social fabric. And with these trends, problems were exacerbated. In response to this situation, concerned individuals believed the school had to do something to reconstruct a culture "which, [if] left unreconstructed . . . [would] most certainly collapse of its own frustrations and conflicts." For the school to begin to do this, it was recognized that the curricula had to be reorganized so that neglected or incompetently treated areas would receive due attention. Most significant, it was felt that the curricula had to center on the crises of our age. In general terms, the demand called for the immediate implementation of the following measures:

> 1. That we confront all learners with the most crucial questions of the time—political, social, economic, moral, scientific, religious, cultural.
> 2. That the psychocultural patterns of the increasingly middle–class society be critically analyzed.
> 3. That the problems of sex relations in their moral aspects be given as much, if not more, attention than their biological aspects.
> 4. That emotional problems be given as much attention as academic disciplines.
> 5. That Albertan (and Canadian) culture be studied in conjunction with other cultures.
> 6. That young citizens be made aware of their membership in obligations to the human race.
>
> (Brameld, 1965, pp. 12–13)

As seen in the foregoing, the preemptory requests were to shift even further from fact acquisition curricula to one that emphasized analyzing, synthesizing, and, most important, evaluating or "valuing" skills. To meet the perceived needs and ends specified, the Department of Education released a "Tentative Course Outline for Social Studies" (Grades I–XII) in January, 1969. Some of the key features of this outline are summarized below.

INTRODUCTION TO THE ALBERTA SOCIAL STUDIES

Definition of Social Studies. Social Studies is the school subject in which young people realize the values, skills, and knowledge with which to confront social problems

However, social studies students must exceed a descriptive study of man and his social and physical environment. They must deal not only with 'what is' but also with 'what ought to be.' They must not only learn about the world of the past and present but must make the future world a more ideal place in which to live.

Frame of Reference. The Alberta social studies will share with other forces in developing the frame of reference from which students learn to view their world.

However, we live in a world . . . in which there is little room for ethnocentricism. Thus, our students' Canadianism must be tempered with a world view which recognizes the basic dignity of human existence in all its political and cultural manifestations. The Alberta social studies program must help to prepare citizens who 'can now live, not just . . . in divided and distinguished worlds, but pluralistically in many worlds and cultures simultaneously.'

OBJECTIVES OF THE ALBERTA SOCIAL STUDIES

The ultimate aim of the Alberta Social Studies Program is to produce citizens who demonstrate personal, social, and civic behavior in which they constantly examine individual as well as societal values.

Priority of Objectives

Values are most important because they determine the ways in which social studies skills and knowledge will be used.

A. *Value Objectives*

'As the world changes, as we change, and as we strive to change the world again, we have many decisions to make and we should be learning how to make these decisions. We should be learning how to value.'

The valuing process should be of central concern in Alberta social studies classes. Students should demonstrate that they are:

— Aware of values . . . and giving controlled or selected attention to values.
— Responding to values with openness.
— Accepting values, preferring values and committing themselves to values.
— Conceptualizing their own values and organizing a value system.
— Becoming characterized by a value or value complex.

B. *Skill Objectives*

Students require a wide range of skills for handling data from and about the social and physical environment.

C. *Knowledge Objectives*
Knowledge is indispensable to sound decision making.

TOPICS OF STUDY IN THE ALBERTA SOCIAL STUDIES (Selected Examples)

The topics listed below and the problems studied should not be regarded as ends in themselves. Rather, they should be viewed as vehicles through which students can clarify values, develop skills, and acquire knowledge.

Grade 1—*Family Life*

- Analyses of a contemporary family, a family of long ago, a non-Western family.
- Problems of current interest to students.

Grade 2—*Comparative Communities*

- Analyses of community life in each of: A Modern-day Indian and/or Eskimo community, A North-American Megalopolis, Africa below the Sahara,
- Problems of current interest to students.

Grade 5—*Canada*

- Sample studies to analyze contemporary life in Canadian regions. Examples: Atlantic fishing port.
- Problems of current interest to pupils.

Grade 7—*Man, Technology and Culture*

- Studies of early development.
- Technology in contemporary cultures.
- Problems of current issues to students.

Grade 10—*Canadian Problem (s)*

- Historical, economic, sociological, political problems facing Canada.
- Problems of current interest to students.

Grade 12—*World Problems and Issues*

- Problems and Values.
- Conflict and cooperation.
- Problems of current interest to students.

(*Department of Education*, 1969, pp. 1-6; 12-14)

Based on the tentative outline, an Elementary Social Studies Handbook entitled "Experiences in Decision Making" was published by the Department of Education in 1971. And as the preface indicates, the orientation of the handbook accurately restates the perspectives detailed in the 1969 outline. Two paragraphs from this section exemplify this point.

> Young people today face a confusing array of conflicting viewpoints and contradictory human behavior. They need help to clarify their own value positions and to gain an understanding that others may hold points of view quite different from theirs.

> Alberta's social studies program seeks to help students utilize personal freedom in discovering ways to improve man's relationship to his social and physical environment.
>
> (Department of Education, 1971, p. 5)

This stress on values is again emphatically reiterated in Chapter III of the handbook. Under the heading "Planning Instructional Units Within The Elementary Social Studies Program" the first characteristic noted to have important implications for planning reads as follows:

> 1. Planning must include an emphasis upon VALUES and the VALUING PROCESS.

The significance placed on the axiological dimension of education is underscored by the fact that in each of the sample units in the handbook, "Value Objectives" are the first to be specified under the general OBJECTIVES' headings.

Though the handbook referred to included sample units only for the elementary grades, as the 1969 outline implied, corresponding pedagogy and content was considered and eventually prepared for the junior high and high school grades. Obviously, the educational authorities reacted with sincere seriousness to the perceived social, ethical, and moral morass of the sixties.

Analyses of the 1971 Revision

> And the beginning, as you know, is always the most important part, especially in dealing with anything young and tender. That is the time when the character is being moulded and easily takes any impress one may wish to stamp on it. (Plato)

> All education is moral, for the end of all teaching is to complete the moral growth of the child, and to impart to him the moral ideas of the race.
> Moreover, the ethical end is not a far–off culmination of one's education, but an idea to be realized in every step of the educational process.
>
> (E. M. Lignon)

Centuries pass, sociobiological relationships change at exponential rates, but some human hopes and aspirations remain immutable. Such can be inferred from the above quotations, the first penned in the 4th century B.C., the second in the 20th century A.D. Specifically, Plato's emphasis on the impressionability of youth and Lignon's adamancy about all education being moral education constitute the twin foundations of Alberta's 1971 curriculum revision. Note that it was planned for all grades, beginning with grade one. And its principal focus was on "valuing processes." This is of prime significance since the revision was a response to the entire gamut of contemporary interrelated social forces and the concomitant sociocultural trends. It was these trends that the revision hoped to counter—trends or lifestyles that went against the very grain of entrenched Judeo-Christian ethics. Dichotomized as were the emerging lifestyles, both extremes were feared and castigated. From crass materialism to abhorrence for 'things of this world;' from overindulgence and the mental and physical abuse suffered by the indiscreet population, to the horrid 'acid' scenes of the dropouts; from serial marriages to an uninhibited sexual morality—these are but three examples of the unconventionality that reared its distinctive features in the sixties. In the hope of regaining something of the proven traditions of established institutions, the school, with its faith in education and hope for our youth, was called upon to re-establish a means for making considered and consistent choices. Hence the value-oriented curriculum. Whether this task could be accomplished solely on Deweyan (empirical and secular) grounds is highly questionable.

Political, Economic, and Sociocultural Factors—Their Implications for Roman Catholic Separate Schools

To underscore a point made earlier, from the outset the Social Credit administration was commendably sensitive to the diversity of issues related to education. Clearly noted was the recognition "that no aspect of education can be properly considered apart from the society if serves." As maintained in the Introduction of this study, "the aims, curriculum, and organization of any educational system are to a large extent moulded by population, social, and economic trends." Though the more significant of these were detailed in the first sections of this chapter, their significance for the singular attention paid to education in the late fifties warrants concise reiteration for the period just indicated.

One key trend was the decline in rural *farm* population, from approximately 47 percent in 1931 to about 27 percent in 1956. During this same period the number of farms decreased by 20,000 while the average acreage per farm increased from 400 to 579. The pattern was one of larger scale farm operation by fewer people. The corollary of this trend was the increase in urban population, principally in Calgary and Edmonton. In fifteen years, from 1941 to 1956, the population of these two urban centers grew from 191,000 to 451,000. The growth of towns was also noteworthy; in 1956 Alberta's 81 towns boasted a population of 81,000.

The social and economic implications of the population trends were numerous and complex. Through the various media the city propagandized its lifestyle and so instilled in rural residents the desire for urban medical, educational, and recreational facilities. With technological advances and increased farm incomes came greater demands for goods and services produced in the cities.

Also noted previously was that urban growth was tied to industrialization. With the latter came demands for skilled personnel. Echoing the state of affairs in most industries was the statement announced by the Canadian Petroleum Association:

> Because of the increasing complexity of operations and the growth of automation, unskilled labor has almost disappeared in the [petroleum] industry and the need for people of higher educational attainment grows continually even in non-professional occupations.
>
> (*The Cameron Report*, 1960, p. 12)

Another record-breaking trend in the period under consideration was that the per capita revenue in Alberta ranked highest in Canada, in fact almost double the national average. Since expenditure is basically determined by revenue, exceptionally costly social programs were initiated. As an example, in 1957, the Alberta government spent $90 per capita on education as contrasted to the Canadian average of $60. This, combined with the above had other ramifications.

> Further causes are not far to seek: the rapid growth and shift of populations, increasing industrialization and job specializations, changing social patterns, mounting costs of . . . [education]. These and other developments have inevitably challenged various kinds of public interest and criticism.
>
> (*Report of the Royal Commission on Education*, 1959, p. 3)

Among these, of course, was education. And in this case the challenge was justified since the record-breaking trends created problems in education which required definition and study. Responding to this need, the Minister of Education, in 1957, set up an Advisory Committee on Education. Soon after it became apparent that the problems were of such complexity that a very disciplined study was required. Hence, on December 31 of the same year, the Government of the Province of Alberta appointed a Royal Commission to make a comprehensive survey of the various phases of the elementary and secondary school systems in the province. Chaired by the Honorable Donald Cameron, the Commission included the following members: Wilma Hanen, Ivy Taylor, John S. Cormack, Norman W. Douglas, and Leslie Mowat.

> In detail the Commission was to study:
>
> A. the aims and objectives essential to maintain a proper and adequate educational program;
>
> B. (1) curriculum,
>   (2) attainment, classification, and promotion of pupils,
>   (3) special services (guidance, provisions for gifted and handicapped, health services, and the like),
>   (4) types of school organization (centralized, composite, small high school, semester system, and the like),
>   (5) physical facilities (buildings),
>   (6) quality and supply of teachers,
>   (7) the relationship of the educational system to the requirements of industry and the modern community,
>   (8) the economics of education.
>
> (*The Cameron Report*, 1959, pp. 9-10)

On November 9, 1959 the result of the inquiry was presented to the Government. The majority presentation, which included many constructive recommendations, was signed by five of the Commission members. Dissatisfied with the section on minority rights, J. S. Cormack prepared and endorsed a minority submission. A concise report on the majority report regarding separate schools and J. S. Cormack's reaction to this topic follow.

It is in Chapter 30 of the Commission's Report that the committee discusses issues of major concern to separate school supporters. As the first example, under the heading of PRACTICES AND PROBLEMS, is a review of the conditions supporters believed essential to the realization of the Catholic school idea. Through briefs and hearings the Commission was informed that,

> Fundamentally, an intimate relationship must be established between the church and education, the latter being subject to conduct and interpretation specifically conceived by the church to serve its own ends. This relationship can be established only if Catholic children are segregated from others, if they are taught by specially-trained teachers and within a school environment rich in religious symbols and exercises.
>
> (*Report of the Royal Commission on Education*, 1959, p. 267)

Though condensed, the above is an accurate statement of the basic philosophy and desired praxis of Catholic education.

Proportionately, more attention was paid to practical concerns. The statement under "organization" elucidates this issue.

> Public and separate school districts lie within the same boundaries, grow and operate together. Usually, each has population and resources adequate to operate schools effectively, maintaining a parallel pace of change and development. In rural areas this had not always been the case. The splitting of school population, economic resources and school management have frequently produced meagre education and troublesome financial problems.
>
> (*Report of the Royal Commission on Education*, 1959, p. 267)

Many of these problems stemmed from the fact that the basic operational unit of separate schools remained a district. One consequence was that parents who constituted a minority in a district but whose children were bussed to a centralized school location were not permitted to assign their school taxes to the school their children attended.

Other concerns expressed by Catholic separate school supporters focussed on special representation, teacher training, and curriculum. The first referred to changes in governmental policy-making bodies which excluded adequate Catholic representation within the Department of Education.

> The implication . . . [was] that such Catholic members as . . . [were] in the legislature provide[d] inadequate representation for purposes of Catholic education. A further implication . . . [was] that representatives acceptable to the Catholic church should sit on . . . specially-constituted committee[s], or in the departmental offices, to safeguard the interests of the separate school system.
>
> (*Report of the Royal Commission on Education*, 1959, p. 268)

Regarding the second matter, teacher training, briefs presented to the Commission requested courses that would "interlock the whole education effort with the teaching of the church." And with respect to the third, curriculum, it was again mentioned that teachers should be trained differently for the separate school system.

The Commission received and considered all briefs and presentations with sympathy but were emphatic in concluding that "the separate schools are part of the public school system." Such adamancy is understandable, for after reviewing separate school aspirations the committee inferred that "separate school champions aspire to a completely dual public school system." To this notion the majority of the Commission members were strongly opposed. Reaffirming the public school concept they maintained that,

> No denominational group should have direct influence or control over even a segment of the public school system, particularly since denominational interests are given priority over educational interests where the two are in conflict. It is understandable that such is the case, since the ideal of the separate school system is fundamentally that of the Catholic church. As such it is beyond compromise. Nevertheless, not all Canadians take kindly to external authority . . . unduly

> influencing the nature of education in Alberta. A major concept in Canadian education is that it should be non-denominational. The commission reaffirms its support of this point of view.
> (*Report of the Royal Commission on Education*, 1959, p. 271)

The Commission proceeded to declare that the secular purposes of the public school system should supersede the aspirations of any denomination when such aspirations affect the public school. This did not suggest that the Commission opposed freedom of denominational conviction but that it opposed the means by which they were brought into effect. The following excerpt clarifies this point.

> it [the Commission] cannot dispute the right to form separate school districts, but it urges regulation to define the scope of the educational services and preserve the quality of both the residual public schools and the separate schools.
> (*Report of the Royal Commission on Education*, 1959, p. 273)

In line with the above, the Commission presented the following recommendations:

> 268. That the provincial government firmly resist any steps towards a dual school system.
> 269. That no denomination be granted special representation at the provincial level upon authoritative, regulatory or official policy-making bodies governing public education.
> 270. That where separate schools exist or are contemplated, controls be implemented to safeguard the scope and quality of the programs of both public and separate schools.
> 271. That provincial administrative procedures be devised, particularly with respect to school grants, so as to prevent duplicate grants for any phase of school operation in an area where public and separate schools exist.
> (*Report of the Royal Commission on Education*, 1959, p. 273)

As already mentioned, the Report of the Royal Commission on Education was a majority presentation signed by five of the six appointed members. Abstaining from endorsing the Commission's report was J. S. Cormack. Instead, he drafted and signed a minority report. In the latter, Cormack discussed seventeen topics. Though the topics and the analyses are often interrelated, the section on separate schools is of special relevance to this chapter. Key excerpts from this section are presented below.

> The Commission had every opportunity to learn that changes in our school system had worked hardships on the parents of those children who attended . . . [separate] schools. The briefs from and interviews with, interested parties stated these difficulties very clearly and frankly.

> The Commission had therefore a very clear and confirmed grasp of the problem as well as valid and viable proposals for righting them. Had the Commission followed these suggestions they would have shown a willingness to re-establish that equality of treatment and harmony between systems which our school law demands.
>
> The Commission had every opportunity to learn that according to the Annual Report, 1958, of the Department of Education, separate schools were cutting the costs of education some 38% for every child attending there. Assuming the total education bill for 1958 to have been $291.65 for each of the 247,219 children in attendance at all schools ($72,000,000), the fact that 22,460 were attending separate schools saved the general tax-payers of this province almost $2,000,000 for that year alone. This is quite apart from the larger consideration of the more fundamental advantages which the very fact that separate schools existed at all did effectively safeguard viz: a democratic check upon an otherwise monolithic system and a reaffirmation of the prior right of parents to determine the kind of education which their children shall receive.
>
> The Commission knew all this or had reason to learn it and yet they endorse only such recommendations as are in complete accord with their basic educational philosophy. They recommend in point of fact that the present disabilities be retained and even suggest means whereby further disabilities might be created for and imposed upon separate schools: namely curtailment of their present rights in organization, grants, and assessments.
>
> (*Report of the Royal Commission on Education*, 1959, p. 442)

Despite less than encouraging conditions, the years 1957 to 1971 saw moderate but steady growth in the number of Roman Catholic separate school districts established. Table 48 reveals this trend.

Table 48

School Districts Established *

Year	*No. of R.C.S. School Districts Erected*	
1957	9	
1958	6	
1959	5	(Includes Drumheller re-est of former dist.)
1960	5	(Also, 1 consolidated district erected)
1961	6	(Results in only 1 additional school)
1962	9	(6 new separate schools came into operation)
1963	5	
1964	8	(2 in large towns, 6 in rural districts)
1965	5	(1 in large town, 4 in rural districts)
1966	1	(in rural district)
1967	3	(2 rural, 1 special kind) †
1968	0	
1969	1	(2 R.C.S. districts dissolved and reunited with public schools)
1970	2	(5 dissolved)
1971	1	(2 dissolved)

† A new kind of district, the St. Paul Regional High School Distrct No. 1 was created by order in council. The participants included the St. Paul School District No. 2228, the County of St. Paul No. 19, and the Glen Avon Protestant Separate School District No. 5.

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* (*Annual Report of the Department of Education*, 1957-1972)

An indirect index of the growth rate of Roman Catholic separate schools is the increase in the number of teachers working in the Roman Catholic separate school districts relative to the total number of teachers working in all schools. For the year 1956–57, there were 9,273 teachers working in the schools of Alberta. Of these, 746 or 8.04 percent, provided services for the Roman Catholic separate school districts. In 1970–71 a total of 22,054 teachers were employed throughout the province. The Roman Catholic separate school districts engaged 3,656, that is, 16.8 percent of the total.

Such growth, however, was not without adversities. The issues mentioned by J. S. Cormack in his Minority Report remained unresolved. Along with the problems of denominational rights, inequities precipitated by the financial structure heaped additional hardship to the Roman Catholic separate school districts. The seriousness of the latter can be inferred from Table 49. Here is shown the marked differences in per–pupil expenditure on education within the Roman Catholic separate schools as compared to that spent per–pupil in all schools.

Table 49

Per-Pupil Expenditure on Education *

Year	*All Schools*	*R.C. Separate Schools*	*Differential*
1970-71	794.61	726.21	68.40
1969-70	726.37	654.40	71.97
1968-69	652.05	583.35	68.70
1967-68	571.68	510.72	60.96
1966-67	503.78	436.23	67.55
1965-66	449.14	393.52	55.62
1964-65	417.60	365.54	52.06
1963-64	395.98	337.11	58.87
1962-63	381.28	322.55	58.73
1961-62	369.32	297.22	72.10
1960-61	348.24	262.77	85.47
1959-60	325.00	248.40	76.60
1958-59	301.46	223.52	77.94
1957-58	272.66	197.45	75.21
1956-57	235.66	175.38	60.28

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* *(Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1957-1972)*

It should also be noted that while the per-pupil expenditure in the Roman Catholic separate schools was $60.28 less than in all schools during the 1956–57 term, the amount of increase by 1970–71 was $8.12 more per-pupil in all schools than in the Roman Catholic separate schools.

Despite these problems, in at least one very important area Catholic schools enjoyed a distinct advantage over their public counterparts. Recall that in the later years of the period discussed the public schools made a valiant attempt to check increasing destructive sociocultural trends by developing and introducing value-oriented curricula. But as the public system had to cater to diverse convictions, the end-product of the effort was hardly short of an orientation program to atomistic relativism. So even if the program had achieved its objectives, at best the student, in the final analysis, could only hope to appropriate values that he or she personally chose to appropriate. That is, students should be aware of values, respond to values with openness, and commit themselves to values—all of their own making. In this we see the very foundations of the morals and ethics of the "me" generation.

One aspect of the above corresponds to the Catholic position, that "man possesses liberty of action; [that] he is free in his choices." But here the similarity stops, for in Catholic doctrine "freedom of will for the most part is a phenomenon of choosing means and not choosing ends." And these ends are not defined existentially or collectively. Rather the ends are eternal truths entrusted to the Church,

> The bona fide institution where authority over the lives of men ultimately resides. True religion plays no second fiddle, it is the queen of man's affairs, the source from which these affairs derive their legitimate existence.
>
> The all important reason for this . . . is that the Roman Catholic Church is the oracle of revealed truth. The . . . institutioned stemming directly from Christ and the Apostles, it is thereby qualified to speak the truth of God to men.
>
> (Butler, 1968, p. 335)

This conviction and the associated axiological, epistemological, and aesthetic principles have remained constant from at least the times of St. Thomas Aquinas. It is no suprise, then, that Roman Catholic separate school supporters were not dismayed when provincial authorities decided to include "values education" as an integral part of the social studies curriculum. Historically, this had always been done in Catholic schools. Nor did the teachers in Roman Catholic separate schools despair when faced with the task of implementing a value program. They had always attempted to do so.

From this it cannot be deduced that separate school supporters, separate school boards, and teachers in the separate systems had definitive solutions to the social ills of the sixties or inviolable methodological and pedagogical procedures for teaching values. Changing political, economic, and sociocultural patterns even made time-tested approaches obsolete and anachronistic. Novel techniques had to be developed, tested, modified, and implemented. This in itself was a demanding enterprise. But when one adds to this the philosophical, administrative, financial, and legalistic challenges that confronted the Roman Catholic separate schools in the sixties then the magnitude and complexity of the interrelated problems can be appreciated. Fortunately by this time each school district or a number of combined districts did not have to "do battle" on their own. A provincial association, the Alberta Catholic School Trustees' Association, had been organized during the period discussed to work on behalf of all Roman Catholic separate school districts. The work of the individuals instrumental in forming and maintaining the association, the challenges the association confronted, and the association's successes and failures is a fascinating record of united commitment, dedication, perseverance, and diplomacy. In the chapter that follows an attempt is made to give due recognition to the association's ventures and its ongoing constituent principal members.

CHAPTER X

THE ALBERTA CATHOLIC SCHOOL TRUSTEES' ASSOCIATION

Between 1906 and 1912 Alberta's population doubled. As this major settlement rush proceeded,

> Everywhere, little rural communities sprang up as the homesteaders built their crude shacks and barns and started to break the land. But the first thought of the newcomers, after their homesteads were established, was the little country school. Next to self-preservation, the rural school was their chief objective, where their children could be educated, where church could be held and where they could meet together on social occasions.
>
> (Willis, 1971, p. 19)

In the words of C. L. Willis, former editor of the Stettler *Independent*, "this prime consideration gave rise to the Alberta rural school trustees, a class of men who laid the foundation of the Alberta rural school system" (Weidenhamer, 1971, p. 19). Significant among "this class of men" was John H. Fleetwood.

Often referred to as the Father of the Alberta School Trustees' Association, Fleetwood was a trustee on the board of the Lethbridge Public School from 1901 to 1912. Perhaps his greatest single contribution to education was his success in persuading Hon. A. C. Rutherford, Premier and Minister of Education, to call a province-wide school trustees' convention.

> The proposal was favourably received and a Provisional Committee was established with J. H. Fleetwood named as President, to organize and program the proposed convention.
>
> (Weidenhamer, 1971, p. 26)

Assisting the committee wherever possible was the Department of Education. As one example, in attempting to ensure reasonable attendance, the Department sent letters to the secretaries of rural and urban school boards throughout the province requesting that delegates be selected to attend the conference scheduled for January 23 and 24, 1907. Held in the United Hall in Edmonton, the convention attracted about 60 of Alberta's 2,000–plus trustees. Despite the low representation a permanent organization was established. Also, topics relating to school architecture, compulsory attendance, provincial grants, and teachers' salaries were discussed; a constitution was drafted and adopted; and 26 resolutions were endorsed.

Then, as Weidenhamer reports, from the founding convention until the outbreak of World War I, records of Association activity are scanty. Only four Convention Reports, for the years 1907, 1908, 1909, and 1913, are available for this period. And during the War years even such sporadic activity seems to have been suspended since there is no evidence that the Association functioned at all between 1914 and 1918.

But one year to the day after the declared armistice the Association was officially revived. At this convention the legality of the Association was established; the objectives of the Association were officially declared; and the constitution was amended. The first of the foregoing was basically a technical issue and consequently quite expeditiously resolved. The second, i.e., the statement of aims, was simply a matter of clarifying and extending the objectives of the 1907 assembly. At the 1919 Convention, the following were approved:

> (a) To enable consideration of education matters.
> (b) To further school administration.
> (c) To facilitate communications with the Minister of Education.
> (d) To assist co–operative undertakings with like associations in the Dominion.
>
> (Weidenhamer, 1971, p. 64)

And of the seven resolutions that were received and adopted by the delegates, the following was perhaps of most immediate importance to the Association:

> 2. Resolved that this convention of the Alberta School Trustees request the Minister of Education to make such amendments to the School Ordinance which will require the fees of this Association to be deducted by the Department of Education from the school grants to the several districts of the province. Moved by T. O. King, Raymond, Seconded by S. Wilson, Rocky Mt. House.
>
> (Weidenhamer, 1971, p. 63)

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That the concept of the Association and its objectives were endorsed by the Department was made evident by the letter G. P. Smith, Minister of Education, addressed to the convention. In this correspondence Smith stated that he was in "hearty sympathy with the aims and objectives of the Association and hoped that the trustees would be able to educate public opinion in this province which is, after all, much needed" (*Albertan*, November 12, 1919, citing Weidenhamer, p. 64).

But despite the fact that the 1919 convention was the first following the period of dormancy, it was the 1921 convention that marked the Association's true revival. Without doubt this dramatic rebirth would not have occurred without the rejuvenated efforts of the trustees, the Minister, and the Department of Education. Not that these efforts were the only factors that led to the Association's renaissance. Others worthy of note are cited below:

> 1. The population was released from tensions of war;
> 2. The Alberta Teachers' Alliance, formed in 1918, was coming on strong;
> 3. New problems and concerns with respect to education began to arise with increasing rapidity;
> 4. Strange new terms had begun to appear such as: teacher shortage, conciliation board, salary schedules, format of teachers' contracts;
> 5. Economic conditions were at a low ebb;
> 6. G. P. Smith was fighting for his political life and saw the Teachers as an obstacle.
>
> (Weidenhamer, 1971, p. 69)

The scope and critical nature of the above generated a high level of interest in the convention and, consequently, markedly improved attendance. For example, whereas the number of school districts had increased by about 230 since the 1919 convention, the number of delegates increased over twenty-five times. That these delegates addressed themselves to serious issues is evidenced by the resolutions carried at the convention. The major resolutions that were endorsed follow:

> 1. Requesting easement re issuance of teaching permits (teacher shortage); . . .
> 3. Obtaining regulations to give trustees the option of taxing improvements on farm lands in Consolidated Districts;
> 4. Taking action to prevent the ATA from blacklisting certain school districts; . . .
> 6. Requesting a Conciliation Board with power to investigate and report on all disputes arising between teachers and Trustees;
>
> (Weidenhamer, 1971, p. 72)

At the next annual convention (1922) President William Rea reviewed the work of the association during the preceding year. His address indicated that the trustees had become involved in a much broader educational milieu. Examination of the resolutions considered at the 1922 general sessions corroborate this claim. Summarily, these resolutions dealt with the following issues:

> 1. Supporting the government in securing Alberta's natural resources and urging that a considerable portion be set aside and marked for educational purposes;
> 2. Requesting boards receive a report within thirty days of an inspection;
> 3. Requesting government to provide school supplies and texts at cost;
> 4. Approving Executive action re formation of local associations;
> 5. Requesting government action to prohibit blacklisting of boards by the ATA;
> 6. Opposing any action to change, in any way, the structure and operation of districts and school boards;
> 7. Requesting stricter enforcement of the School Attendance Act and that provision for six weeks non-attendance be reduced to three weeks;
> 8. Approval of a committee of six to study matters of taxation as it affects education and report to next convention;
> 9. Adoption of a motion to table a resolution re standardization of teaching certificates since the Department was taking such action;
> 10. Raising rural fee from $1.00 to $2.00;
> 11. Tabling a curriculum resolution until report of present curriculum is received;
> 12. Tabling of resolutions re health of pupils and teachers deemed covered in the School Ordinance;
> 13. Tabling of resolutions to shorten the school year.
>
> (Weidenhamer, 1971, p. 78)

The format, program, and procedures of the 1922 convention represented a pattern that remained relatively unchanged throughout the twenties and early thirties. Some changes, however, were implemented. For example,

> The practice of meeting part time in sections continued, but with some modification. In 1923 the delegates met in General Sessions, Consolidated Section, Town and City Section and Rural Section and this remained format for the 1924 and 1925 conventions.
>
> (Weidenhamer, 1971, p. 84)

More important to the subject of this manuscript was the 1924 stipulation that one of the Executive members was to be a representative of the Catholic separate schools. Then in 1926 provision was made for adding a second member to represent Catholic separate districts—one from an urban centre and one from the rural areas. In this same year a

Catholic School Section was added. Over 100 delegates were present at this section. In the years that followed the Catholic Section became an important part of the ASTA convention. Two years later Catholic delegates to the General Convention of the Alberta School Trustees' Association were guests of the Edmonton Separate School Board. Meeting at St. Joseph's College, The University of Alberta, they were given a banquet and a tour of the university.

> In subsequent years this section held a banquet in conjunction with its meeting at annual convention time, to which officers of the ASTA were always invited. More recently this social function has taken the form of a wine and cheese party to which all . . . delegates and visitors [to the Alberta Catholic School Trustees' Association Convention] are invited.
>
> (Weidenhamer, 1971, p. 84)

Representation on the ASTA executive, the Catholic section meetings at the ASTA annual conventions, and the banquet sponsored by the Edmonton Separate School Board had at least two positive outcomes. First, these developments and events facilitated the emergence of a distinct identity within a broader cross-section of the Catholic community. Second, they were portents of progress that was possible by united action. Both outcomes served to fan the flames of commitment.

But for commitment to be transformed from abstract constructs to concrete structures requires (to again use Hoffer's terminology) "men of words, ideas" and "men of action." In the Catholic cause talented individuals assumed the defined responsibilities in both of the required roles. For that matter, a number of dedicated people were able to execute the functions of the inspirational rhetorician and the pragmatic implementer. History shows us that these men and women did an admirable job. And if sometimes the apathy they encountered was disheartening and the struggle to maintain minority educational rights caused commitment to wane, invariably circumstances rekindled the embers of the cause into assertive flame.

To illustrate, until the formation of the large administrative unit the problems of operating the separate school districts did not differ greatly from those encountered by the administrators of the public system. But as has been previously mentioned the establishment of school divisions (and later counties) created unprecedented difficulties for those involved in the provision of Catholic education. Objections to this legislated change came from numerous sources–bishops, parish priests, educators, administrators, Catholic representatives to the ASTA and local trustees. Dissatisfaction if not chagrin was openly expressed. Yet government reaction was indifferent. Such response, in face of the challenge to entrenched minority educational rights, contributed to the formation of the Alberta Catholic Education Association. As already noted, this association did admirable work in publicizing the inequalities that resulted from the revision in the administrative framework and in preparing and presenting briefs to the cabinet. To the Association's dismay their efforts received no more sympathy than did the other dissident voices. In light of this, it became apparent that unified, orchestrated action had to be mobilized—a provincial organization had to be formed to speak on behalf of all Catholics in Alberta.

The vanguard that heeded the call for concerted, pragmatic action was what became known as the "Ginger Group." Such united action was facilitated by the fact that a sizable number of individuals in this group had long-established fraternity bonds. Specifically, these were the individuals who had obtained a baccalaureate degree from St. Thomas More College, a constituent college of the University of Saskatchewan. At this college Reverend Father Carr was successful in getting students "Catholic action-minded" through his courses in philosophy. Thus stimulated, it was a matter of natural progression that graduates of this institution such as V. Dantzer, B. Feehan, Reverend Father Kindervater, P. Norris, and Father Leo Grattor would become prominently involved in a Catholic cause when the need arose. Others whose alma mater was not St. Thomas More College, such as J. B. Kane, J. Cormack, and M. O. Byrne, also became zealously involved in the Catholic cause.

Equally inspired and dedicated to the "cause" were many Catholic women, particularly those associated or allied with the "Ginger Group." Mrs. N. Dantzer, formerly Mary Boyd, and Mrs. Feehan are but two examples who fall into this group and who were directly involved in the planning and organizational stages of the association's formation. Many others played less conspicuous, though equally important, supportive roles. For example, they opened their homes and offered a sincere and a hospitable setting for the many meetings that were conducted in private residences where the association's founders clarified the philosophy of their objectives and refined strategy policies.

Through such joint effort and influence, sufficient support was garnered to warrant more concrete action. An important move in this direction was the scheduling of a general meeting to discuss details relevant to the issue at stake. In a memorandum dated March 20, 1957, J. B. Kane reported on this meeting. The introductory paragraph of this memorandum is reprinted following.

THE FUNCTION, FORMATION AND ADMINISTRATIVE DETAILS OF ZONE 7, ALBERTA SCHOOL TRUSTEES' ASSOCIATION.

> In November, 1957, a meeting was called of School Trustees and others interested in education who were members of the Alberta School Trustees' Association, or who were active in the interest of education of children of Roman Catholic parents throughout the Province. At the time of the meeting, the function of such an association was determined. It was agreed that Zone 7 would be a part of the Alberta School Trustees' Association and that formal application would be made for the setting up of such a Zone.
>
> (Kane, 1958, p. 1)

Another matter addressed at this meeting involved defining the structure of the proposed organization and specifying its functions. In addition, the delegates elected a Board of Directors and outlined the duties and responsibilities of the different offices. Subsequent to the meeting, the Executive began planning a convention that would expedite the implementation of the proposals that were adopted in principle. Details of these plans are found in J. B. Kane's December 31, 1957 correspondence to Reverend Father Kindervater. This letter is replicated on the following page.

On January 18th, 1958, the convention was held. On page 311 is the program of this historic event.

A detailed report of the convention was made in the January 22, 1958 issue of the *Western Catholic*. The headline and significant sections of this report follow.

SCHOOL TRUSTEES MEET IN EDMONTON
PROVINCIAL ORGANIZATION FORMED

> With the blessings and cooperation of their Excellencies, the Bishops of Alberta, the Catholic school trustees of the province met at St. Mary's High School in Edmonton on Saturday, January 18 to organize on a provincial basis and elect an executive. The one–day meeting was an unqualified success with over 120 representatives from every corner of the province participating in lively discussion and reaching wholehearted agreement on all the proposals adopted.
>
> The first such proposal was that the executive take immediate steps to have the Catholic Trustee organization incorporated as a Catholic zone of the Alberta School Trustees' Association. Catholics are already represented on the provincial executive of this larger organization by Mr. J. B. Kane, chairman of the Edmonton Separate School Board who represents the Catholic city schools, and Mr. Paul Chauvet of Legal, divisional board member of the Sturgeon Public School Division, who was also elected November last to represent the other Catholic school boards of the province.
>
> A second proposal which . . . was adopted by the assembly was that two Catholic school trustees to represent each of the dioceses of the province be elected to constitute the provincial executive of the new Catholic Zone. This executive would meet twice a year to decide general zone policy. . . . They would elect two of their number as chairman and vice–chairman and an executive director. . . . This

312 McLeod Building
Edmonton, Alberta

December 31st, 1957.

Reverend Father Kinderwater, O.M.I.,
Oblate Fathers,
9916 - 110 Street,
Edmonton, Alberta.

Dear Father:

A Convention is being arranged for the primary purpose of forming a Zone 4 of Roman Catholic School Trustees of the Province of Alberta. Zone 4 will be active inside the Alberta School Trustees' Association.

The primary purpose is to make sure that the views of Roman Catholic School Trustees are registered with the Department of Education and with leaders of the Government, on matters pertaining to education and all other matters of interest to Roman Catholic Schools.

It is therefore important that everyone who is active in education should attend.

The invitation is extended to each elected Roman Catholic Trustee, Secretary and/or Superintendent.

THE DATE OF THE CONVENTION is Saturday, January 18th, 1958.

PLACE: St. Mary's High School - 7055 - 99th Street.

TIME OF REGISTRATION: 9:00 a.m.

THE CONVENTION OPENS at 10:00 a.m.

THE FEE IS $10.00 per delegate, which includes one meal.

JB Kane

J.B. Kane,
Acting President Zone 4,
Alberta School Trustees' Association.

P.S. - Please advise Mr. Vince Dantzer, 206 Phillips Building, Edmonton, the names and number of delegates. IT IS MOST IMPORTANT THAT THIS SHOULD BE DONE. Would you also indicate if it is necessary to arrange for hotel accommodation.

PROGRAM

ZONE 4

Saturday, January 18th, 1958

MORNING SESSION

9:00 a.m. Registration.

10:00 a.m. Convention Opens -
Welcoming Address: J.B. Kane.

Election of Officers.

Discussion of Ways and Means of establishing a Permanent Secretary.

LUNCHEON

AFTERNOON SESSION

Address: Mr. E.J. Cormack.

Subject: "The Historic, Legal and Financial Background of Catholic Education in Alberta."

Address: Mr. A. Cullen.

Subject: "The Function of a Trustee."

Introduction of Resolutions from the floor.

6:00 p.m. BANQUET

Speaker to be announced.

smaller [group] . . . would handle the ordinary business of the Zone, keep the general executive informed on all developments and report quarterly on expenditure of funds.

To the provincial executive of their new Catholic Zone, the trustees present elected: Messrs. J. B. Kane, Edmonton, and Dr. Patterson, Red Deer, for Edmonton; J. Comosotti, Calgary and J. J. McCann, Forest Lawn, for Calgary; O. Demco and S. Smolyk, Vegreville for the Ukrainian Catholic diocese; J. van Brabant, St. Paul, and P. Chauvet, Legal, for St. Paul; A. Murphy, Grande Prairie, and L. Richer, McLennan, for Grouard.

A final proposal which terminated lengthy discussion of budget matters directed that contributions to executive revenue be based upon a per pupil per year basis.

Certainly the Catholic laity who under the leadership of Mr. Kane organized this entire convention and made it such a successful one deserve the thanks, best wishes and, for the future, sincere and even financial co-operation from every friend of Catholic education in our province.

(*Western Catholic*,
January 22, 1958, pp. 1 & 5)

Shortly after the convention the first Executive Committee meeting of the newly established Catholic School Trustees' Association was held. Called by Mr. J. B. Kane, chairman of the committee, it was held on Saturday, January 25, 1958, in St. Joachim's Rectory, 9916–110 Street, Edmonton. Key decisions made at this meeting are reprinted verbatim.

1. Formal request made to the Provincial Executive of Alberta School Trustees' Association for incorporation of "The Roman Catholic School Trustees of Alberta" as a specific Zone of the Trustee Association with proper name and number. Written application dated January 25, 1958, with suggestion that even before formal and official incorporation is completed the unofficial consent of the ASTA Provincial Executive be secured in writing rather than wait for a constitutional amendment to be passed at next Convention lifting the restriction of Zones to geographical areas. . . .
4. Copies of these minutes, proposed Annual Budget, will be sent in the Proceedings to all Catholic Schools with a gentle reminder that contributions are urgently needed on the basis suggested at Convention and/or as possible. Address: "Kindervater." Will see to it that receipts are issued promptly. Some indications of intentions of School Boards will be welcomed and most necessary in order to remain within budget.
5. Trust account to be opened at Bank of Nova Scotia, Mr. J. Brennan, mgr., in the name of Catholic School Trustees' Association, with signing authority: Reverend C. Kindervater, Oblates of Mary Immaculate, until such time as Catholic Zone of ASTA recognized officially.
6. Formal request made to Edmonton Separate School Board for furnished office space and switch-board facilities for use of Executive Secretariat and Director. . . .
10. Time and place of Executive-Committee Meetings will be Saturday mornings at Assoc. Office for present: 9916–110 St., Edmonton, Ph: 26314. . . . Mr. J. B. Kane, Home address and number: 10008 - 146 St., Edmonton. Ph: 886865. Mr. Paul Chauvet, Home address and number: Legal, Alberta—Ph: R 1209.

The second Executive Committee Meeting was held on February 8, 1958 in Mr. F. O'Hara's office in the Edmonton Separate School Building (9806–106 Street). According to the minutes of this meeting, in attendance were Mr. J. B. Kane, Father Kindervater, and Mr. F. O'Hara. Paul Chauvet was absent but gave consent to the proceedings at the next meeting.

Though nothing of "signal" significance transpired at this meeting, the inclusion of sections of the proceedings extracted from the minutes merit documenting. The reasons for this are threefold. First, the records affirm the unswerving dedication of the Executive vis-à-vis their primary goal—that is, the establishment of Zone 7 and organizing a funding mechanism for the maintenance and operation of the Zone. The first two recorded items relate to these concerns.

> 1. In reply to Mr. Andrew's Letter (on becoming a Zone of ASTA, no unofficial approval of ASTA Executive being forthcoming until convention time) suppress word Separate from sentence: "Zone 7 will comprise all Roman Catholic Separate school boards in Province."
> 2. School districts to be billed immediately. After considerable discussion it was decided that bill with proceedings of Convention would be most effective.
>
> (*Minutes of the Second Executive Meeting of the CSTA*, February 8, 1958, p. 1)

Second, the minutes of this meeting distinctly mark out the comprehensiveness of the educational concerns of the Catholic community. Contrary to the fairly prevalent belief that the latter was principally vocal and/or active in matters pertaining to "self-interest," the Catholics were genuinely interested in the entire spectrum of education and its implications—for example, their involvement in the Royal Commission on Education. Items number four and number five of the February 8, 1958 meeting relate to this point.

> 4. Mr. O'Hara is to become secretary to Continuing Committee on Royal Commission Brief. Besides terms of reference sent out with Proceedings, a questionnaire to be directed by Mr. F. O'Hara to all school boards and educational leaders in province. Other briefs are not precluded by decision of trustees to prepare one.
> 5. Tentative dates for Brief:
>   March 1st—Final draft.
>   March 10th—smaller meetings of Trustees' executive alone.
>   March 23rd—weekend for general consideration of final draft which will incorporate written submissions, replies to questionnaires and approval of hierarchy.

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> In fact the date for first meeting of Trustees became March 15th and for Catholic city superintendent became March 7th—without representative of Trustees' Executive present.
>
> (*Minutes of the Second Executive Meeting of the CSTA*, p. 1)

Third, though generally united in terms of philosophy and concomitant objectives, differences between individual members of the executive or factions of the Catholic community regarding long-term strategy or routine administration did arise. One example of such disagreement is seen in the "Addenda to the Second Executive Committee Meeting."

> This meeting was as unsatisfactory as such from the standpoint of accomplishments. When Kindervater attempted to produce matter for discussion, Mr. Kane: "Just a second before we get involved. I detect a fundamental difference between us" and proceeded to expatiate upon this theme until he was called into another office for a meeting. (It should be remembered that at this moment no major school authority has said that they will support this organization. In fact Edmonton's support has not yet been secured.) The fundamental conflict which Mr. Kane saw fit to read into Executive Director's action is not making expenses *before* the money was committed from somewhere. He made his usual threat of resignation but was placated to some extent by the fact that Kindervater would go along with the resolution to devote all of the amount on hand to uses of Brief, of which he himself was chairman. What Kindervater did get from him was that the same method of securing copy of proposed legislation as used the year before should again be used even as against motion of first executive meeting.
>
> Kindervater insisted upon the point that lack of funds of itself did not mean that the organization was a failure and on the contrary was a great step forward, which must be preserved at all costs and only if anything occurred to threaten this step would there be any question of entertaining notions of resignations from anyone.
>
> The occasion for the outburst was the fact that Kindervater had asked Mr. Kane to drive over to Finn Agencies to pick up copies of Convention minutes which were finally ready there. This was in conformity with Mr. Kane's recommendation of the first meeting that volunteer help for the mailing of these copies be secured to such extent as it could be. He suggested Edmonton Business Girls CWL unit. I of course used two Brothers and McNeill and McGannety, after he took a taxi for the copies of minutes.

The above illustrates but one instance of discord. There were others of greater magnitude. What purpose then does the inclusion of the foregoing instance of "lack of harmony in the ranks" serve? Its inclusion is important only to the extent that it illustrates that personal conflicts, personality clashes, or factionalism were ignored when a unified front was essential to promote "Christian education" or the establishment of mechanisms that would ensure delivery of such education. Illustrating such themes has been one of the underlying, though not necessarily obvious, themes of this book. Consequently, a particular instance of such action in the formative period of the Association merited mention.

As had been anticipated, financing a provincial organization, particularly in the period referred to, was a serious concern for the Executive. Though a number of school boards had been making monetary contributions, Mr. Dantzer advised the executive members that "spending a school board's contribution without assuring oneself that a minute of the school board in question authorizes this expenditure is not proper procedure" (*Minutes of the Fourth Executive Meeting of the CSTA*, April 1, 1958, p. 2). Since it was then decided that these funds be returned to the Trust Account and left there intact until the incorporation of the Association as Zone 7, the question that then arose was how the Executive was to meet current expenditures. To resolve this problem, Mr. Kane:

> Offered to establish a line of credit up to $5000 or such lesser amount as will be in Trust Account at any given moment for General Fund of Executive Committee through personal promissory notes at [the] Bank of Nova Scotia.
>
> (*Minutes of the Fourth Executive Meeting of the CSTA*, 1958, p. 2)

Mr. Paul Chauvet moved that Mr. Kane's offer be accepted. The motion was carried and the Association, because of Mr. Kane's magnanimous dedication, was able to carry on with its work unencumbered by immediate financial requirements.

Without question there was much work to be done. Briefs to the Royal Commission on Education, public school problems, curriculum matters relating to the Royal Commission, teacher training, recruitment and retention, legislation, reorganization of local government proposals, and separate school problems were all issues that required attention. To expedite their efforts the Executive established seven continuing committees to deal with the foregoing matters.

But whatever the scope of the issues (with their attendant implications) the Executive pursued with "singleness of purpose," its most important immediate concern was the desire to form Zone 7 of the Alberta School Trustees' Association. The request from the Catholic trustees regarding this intent was considered at the March 1958 Executive Meeting of the ASTA. At this meeting the executive of the latter agreed to endorse the submitted request. Accordingly, the following motion was carried:

> That the request from Catholic school trustees for the establishment of some machinery within the ASTA which will give them authority to meet and work in small convention when called, be pursued and that the proposal to establish such

> machinery as Zone 7 of the ASTA be considered. Furthermore, Mr. Kane and the secretary be authorized to arrange a meeting with the Association Solicitor and Dr. Swift to consider the legal procedure and manner in and by which such machinery might be set up. Further, that a resolution dealing with this matter be presented to the next Executive meeting.
>
> (Weidenhamer, 1971, p. 477)

It was expected that this resolution would be prepared in time for the July meeting of the ASTA. This target date was not met because shortly after the endorsement of the above motion, Mr. Kane (Catholic Trustee representative on the Executive) resigned. And so Mr. Dantzer was invited to assist in the preparation of the necessary resolution. This Dantzer did with characteristic expediency and at the November 4, 1958 meeting of the ASTA Executive the resolution was endorsed by a two–thirds majority. Bylaw No. 11 was consequently amended to include the ACSTA as a branch of the provincial trustees' association. One immediate result of this amendment was that at the tenth regular executive meeting the Executive decided that,

> The official title of the organization will continue to be: Alberta Catholic School Trustees' Association (A.C.S.T.A.) but that the official legal title namely: Roman Catholic School Trustees Branch A.S.T.A., appear on letterhead [sic].
>
> (*Minutes of the Tenth Executive Meeting of the CSTA*, November 22, 1958, p. 1)

As a branch of the ASTA the Catholic trustees had, and exercised, the right to maintain a standing ACSTA executive, to elect representatives to the Provincial Executive of the ASTA, and to levy fees. Such were the defining parameters of their status until 1961. Constitutional changes introduced at the 1961 ASTA Convention, however, redefined the status of the Catholic Trustees' Association—namely, from a branch of the ASTA to a zone of the Provincial Organization. Reaction to this change soon followed. At the January 14, 1962 Executive meeting of the Catholic association it was agreed that Mr. V. Dantzer be asked to introduce a private bill in the Legislature to incorporate the ACSTA as a society.

This and other essential steps to accomplish this task were soon undertaken. Needless to say this was a time–consuming effort. One reason was that the Catholic Association's objective aroused at least a degree of apprehension in the Department of Education. The Minister's letter to the Registrar of Companies, on the following page, illustrates this point. With reference to the foregoing correspondence it is important to note that though the Department had some reservations about approving the requested incorporation, in principle the

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PROVINCE OF ALBERTA

MEMORANDUM

OUR FILE NO.:
YOUR FILE NO.:

FROM: W. H. Swift
Deputy Minister of Education

TO: Mr. J. Hart
Registrar of Companies
Department of the Provincial Secretary

DATE: January 31, 1946

Re: The Societies Act
The Alberta Catholic School Trustees' Association

I reply to yours of January 11 to Mr. Wetter of this Department.

We know of no grounds for opposing the incorporation of the above.

We would like to express some concern over 2 (i). We are of the opinion that there should be direct communication between all school boards in the Province and this Department. A school board may, of course, seek advice from any quarter that it wishes, but we would be reluctant to see a situation developing in which we deal with school boards through an intermediary.

It may be that we are reading more into this than is intended but we do not wish to see a voluntary organization standing between two statutory levels of government.

Deputy Minister

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application was not opposed. In part this may be attributed to the fact that the objects, powers, and purposes of the ACSTA were the same as the objects, powers, and purposes of the ASTA already registered under "The Alberta School Trustees' Association Act" [R.S.A. 1955 c.300, s2.] And so when the application was submitted on March 30, 1966 it was only about one and one–half months later that official registration was recorded. A copy of the application, the Certificate of Incorporation, The Alberta School Trustees' Act, and the By–Laws of the Alberta Catholic School Trustees' Association are included on the following 11 pages.

Though incorporated as a distinct entity, the ACSTA retained its status as a zone of the ASTA. Bylaw No. 11, Item 2 of the ASTA Act reaffirmed this status:

> 2. For the purpose of the formation of Zones of the Association, the Province shall be divided as follows and each Zone shall consist of the designated Divisions, Counties and Districts excepting Zone No. 7 which shall be as defined under section 5 of this By–law.
>
> (*ASTA Act*, Sec. 5, Bylaw 11, Item 2)

Since the bylaw detailing the Zones of the Association specifies the position of Zone No. 7 vis–à–vis the Provincial Organization, it is evident that the Catholic Association remained an integral part of the ASTA. More specific information related to Zone 7 is found in Section 5 of Bylaw No. 11.

> 5. Zone No. 7
>
> [a] Zone No. 7 of the Alberta School Trustees' Association shall be composed of all Roman Catholic Boards in the Province.
>
> [b] Zone No. 7 shall be known as the Roman Catholic School Trustees' of the Alberta School Trustees' Association.
>
> [c] Participation in Zone No. 7 shall be open to all Roman Catholics who are trustees in the Province of Alberta.
>
> (*ASTA Act*, Sec. 5, Bylaw 11)

Since its incorporation in 1966, the ACSTA has been a very active organization. This does not suggest dormancy prior to that date. Rather, as mentioned earlier, a tremendous amount of work was required to form the association and develop it to the stage of incorporation. Further, organizational problems were only one of the challenges the Association had to meet. Many other issues were addressed. An indication of the scope of these concerns can be extrapolated from a list of ACSTA activities selected from the Minutes of the Executive Committee Meetings.

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APPLICATION

of

THE ALBERTA CATHOLIC SCHOOL TRUSTEES' ASSOCIATION

under

THE SOCIETIES ACT

Chapter 315 of the Revised Statutes of Alberta, 1955.

THE SOCIETIES ACT

Chapter 315 of the Revised Statutes of Alberta, 1955.

APPLICATION

WE, the undersigned, hereby declare that we desire to form a society under THE SOCIETIES ACT, aforesaid, and that:

1. The name of the society is THE ALBERTA CATHOLIC SCHOOL TRUSTEES' ASSOCIATION.

2. The objects of the society are:

   (a) To consider and deal with matters relating to education and school administration in the Province of Alberta with a view to the betterment thereof,

   (b) To provide a medium for expression of the views and suggestions of the Catholic School Trustees of this Province on matters pertaining to education,

   (c) To co-operate with similar associations in Alberta and in Canada in matters of provincial and national educational interest,

   (d) To promote the ineterests of school districts and school divisions throughout the Province.

   (e) To bring about:
      (1) the economical and efficient administration of the affairs of school districts and school divisions, and
      (2) the economical and efficient performance of all duties undertaken by or imposed on school districts or school divisions,

   (f) To co-operate for the promotion, guidance and improvement of legislation and regulation of education and school questions,

   (g) Generally, to do all acts and things that appear to the Association conducive to the good and welfare of education in the Province of Alberta or any one or more school districts or school divisions,

   (h) To do and perform all acts and things incidental to and necessary for the purpose of effecting any of the objects set out in this application and adopting by-laws at the annual convention of the Association for the proper conduct of the Association,

   (i) To act as agent for and on behalf of any Catholic school district in the Province of Alberta for the purpose of entering into any contract or contracts with the

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Government of Canada or any agency thereof, with the Government of Alberta or any agency thereof, or with any school authority or teachers in the Province of Alberta or in the other Provinces,

(j) To acquire lands by purchase or otherwise, erect or otherwise provide a building or buildings for the purposes of the Association,

(k) To sell, manage, lease, mortgage, dispose of or otherwise deal with the property of the Association,

(l) For the purpose of carrying out its objects, the Association may borrow or raise or secure the payment of money in such manner as it thinks fit,

3. The operations of the Society are to be chiefly carried out in and about the Province of Alberta.

DATED this 30th day of March A.D. 1966.

NAME	OCCUPATION	ADDRESS
1. [illegible]	Life Insurance Salesman	332 Connaught Dr. [illegible], Alta
[illegible]	Housewife	253 - 3rd St. S.W. [illegible]
Witness as to the above signature		
[illegible]	Lawyer	[illegible] - 12th St. N.E. [illegible], Alta
2. D. K. Sinclair	Lawyer	1340 Guinness House, Calgary
Evelyn I. Sinclair	Housewife	216 - 25 Ave. S.W.
WITNESS as to the above signature		
3. [illegible]	Lawyer	177 [illegible] Drive, Calgary
Evelyn I. Sinclair	Housewife	216 - 25 Ave. S.W.
WITNESS as to the above signature		
4. [illegible] W. McDonald	Housewife	8935 - Strathearn Dr.
K. [illegible]	secretary	11328 - 106 Ave.
5. Angus MacPhelan	Bus. Mgr.	Vermilion Alta
Wm Pasechnyk		Vermilion Alta
WITNESS as to the above signature		

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10

PROVINCE OF ALBERTA

CANADA

Certificate of Incorporation

I Hereby Certify that

- THE ALBERTA CATHOLIC SCHOOL TRUSTEES' ASSOCIATION -

is this day incorporated under The Societies Act, being Chapter 315 of the Revised Statutes of Alberta, 1955.

Given under my hand and seal of office at Edmonton, Alberta, this - 19th - day of - May - A.D. 19 66

(Jas. Ware)
Registrar of Companies

a three-fourths majority of such members entitled to
vote as are present at the annual general meeting of the

THE ALBERTA SCHOOL TRUSTEES' ASSOCIATION ACT

CHAPTER 300

An Act to Incorporate the Alberta School Trustees' Association

Short title

1. This Act may be cited as "*The Alberta School Trustees' Association Act*". [R.S.A. 1942, c. 181, s. 1]

"association"

2. In this Act "association" means the Alberta School Trustees' Association constituted under this Act.

Constitution and powers

3. There is hereby established and constituted a corporation to be known as the Alberta School Trustees' Association with the following objects, powers and purposes:

- (*a*) to consider and deal with matters relating to education and school administration in the Province with a view to the betterment thereof;
- (*b*) to provide a medium for expression of the views and suggestions of the school trustees of the Province on matters pertaining to education;
- (*c*) to co-operate with other similar associations in Canada in matters of national educational interest;
- (*d*) to promote the interests of school districts and school divisions throughout the Province;
- (*e*) to bring about
  - (i) the economical and efficient administration of the affairs of school districts and school divisions, and
  - (ii) the economical and efficient performance of all duties undertaken by or imposed on school districts or school divisions;
- (*f*) to co-operate for the promotion, guidance and improvement of legislation on educational and school questions;
- (*g*) generally, to do all acts and things that appear to the association conducive to the good and welfare
  - (i) of education in the Province, or
  - (ii) of any one or more school districts or school divisions;

  and
- (*h*) to do and perform all acts and things incidental to and necessary for the purpose of effecting any of the objects set out in this section.

[R.S.A. 1942, c. 181, s. 2]

Borrowing

4. (1) For any of the purposes set out in section 3, the association

(a) may borrow money in such amounts, at such rates and on such terms as are deemed advisable, and

(b) may, under the signatures of such officers as may be designated by by-laws or regulation of the association, draw, make, accept and endorse such bills of exchange, cheques and promissory notes as are deemed necessary.

(2) Nothing contained in subsection (1) authorizes the association to issue bills or notes payable to bearer or intended to be circulated as money or as bills or notes of a bank. [R.S.A. 1942, c. 181, s. 3]

Actions by and against association

5. The association may by its corporate name sue or be sued, plead and be impleaded, and contract and be contracted with, in any matter, action or cause. [R.S.A. 1942, c. 181, s. 4]

Membership and financial year

6. The period of membership and the financial year of the association shall coincide with the calendar year. [R.S.A. 1942, c. 181, s. 5]

Members

7. (1) Subject to section 8, the board of trustees of each non-divisional school district and of each school division in the Province shall be members of the association.

(2) The Minister and Deputy Minister of Education of the Province are *ex officio* members of the association, and no fees are payable by them to the association.

(3) Each divisional school trustees' association in the Province is eligible for membership in the association. [R.S.A. 1942, c. 181, s. 6; 1944, c. 51, s. 1]

Exclusion of board from membership

8. A board described in subsection (1) of section 7 may exclude itself from membership in the association for the next following year by giving a notice in writing to the secretary-treasurer of the association in any year on or before the first day of November. [R.S.A. 1942, c. 181, s. 7]

By-laws

9. The association in general meeting

(a) may pass by-laws, not inconsistent with the provisions of this Act or of any Act or regulation, of the Province, respecting

(i) the election of the executive and officers of the association,

(ii) the rules and regulations for the formation, government, management and dissolution of divisional associations,

(iii) the management of property and affairs of the association,

(iv) the internal organization and administration of the association,

(v) the maintenance of the association,

(vi) the fixing of annual and other fees payable by the members of the association or in the case of delegates from a divisional association, by the board of that division,

(vii) the time, place and conduct of the annual and other meetings of the association, and

(viii) such other matters as are deemed necessary or convenient for

(A) the management of the association, and

(B) the promotion of its welfare and the conduct of its business,

and

(*b*) may amend, alter or repeal a by-law.

[R.S.A. 1942, c. 181, s. 8]

Regulations

10. The Lieutenant Governor in Council may make regulations not inconsistent with this Act

(*a*) for the better carrying out of the purposes of this Act, and

(*b*) for the collection of fees from the members of the association. [R.S.A. 1942, c. 181, s. 9]

Printed by L. S. WALL, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty
Edmonton, Alberta, 1957

BYLAWS

# of the

ALBERTA CATHOLIC SCHOOL TRUSTEES' ASSOCIATION

1. This Association shall be known as "The Alberta Catholic School Trustees' Association (ACSTA), being Zone Branch No. 7 of the Alberta School Trustees' Association.

2. The objects and purposes of the Association are those objects and powers and purposes which are outlined in Section 3 of The Alberta School Trustees' Association Act, being Chapter 300, RSA 1955, and those specifically mentioned in application under The Societies Act.

3a. Membership in the Association shall be open to all Catholics who are school trustees in the Province of Alberta and any persons appointed pursuant to by-law 5(b) and any such persons may attend and participate in the discussion as well as the decisions taken at any general or special meeting of the Association.

3b. Membership in the Association shall cease as soon as a person is no longer a school trustee or appointed under by-law 5(b), except that a member of the ACSTA Board of Directors, exclusive of the Past President shall continue in office until he is replaced at the convention following the cessation of his office as a school trustee.

4a. The affairs of the Association shall be managed and conducted by an Executive Board consisting of twelve members to be elected on a diocesan basis as follows:

Calgary	2 members
Edmonton	2 members
St. Paul	2 members
Grouard	2 members
Mackenzie	2 members
Ukrainian Diocese	2 members

4b. Catholic representatives on the Provincial Executive of the ASTA and on the Executives of the urban and rural sections of the ASTA shall be elected prior to the election of members of the Executive Board, and upon being so elected shall at the same time become members of the Executive Board.

5. The trustee delegates in convention assembled shall elect a President and a Vice-President, who, together with the immediate Past President and the Executive Director shall constitute the Executive Committee of the Association:

a) Two members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum,

b) The President shall preside at all meetings of the Association, of the Executive Board and of the Executive Committee and shall be ex-officio member of any committee named,

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The Vice-President shall preside in the absence of the President,

The Executive Committee may by resolution appoint anyone as their representative in matters within the objects and purposes of the Association,

c) The Executive Director shall, amongst other things, be responsible for the following, but the listing of these duties shall in no way limit or restrict the possible duties or activities of the Executive Director:

i. Collect all dues,

ii. Pay all accounts,

iii. Render an annual statement of receipts and disbursements and submit his report to the auditors for verification,

iv. Keep a complete and true record of the minutes of the annual meetings, meetings of the Executive Board and meetings of the Executive Committee and shall circulate the minutes or digests thereof as directed,

v. Keep all funds of the Association in a chartered bank designated by the Executive Committee and such funds shall be deposited to the credit of the Association and shall be subject to the withdrawal from time to time on cheques signed by the President and Executive Director,

vi. AND, such other duties as shall from time to time be assigned.

6. The Executive Board shall be elected at the annual general meeting of the Association which shall be held at the same time as the annual convention of the ASTA and in the same city but at such times as will not conflict with the sessions of the ASTA.

7a. The Executive Committee shall constitute itself a nominating committee to bring to the session a complete slate of nominees to executive positions, permitting the meeting to present any further nominations from the floor.

7b. In case such further nominations are made, the election of the members to the Executive Board shall be by ballot from amongst the trustee delegates of the diocesan areas named. The two trustee-representatives of that area shall act as poll clerks. A trustee standing for election who is not present at the meeting must signify his willingness to serve. Each diocesan group shall appoint a diocesan secretary.

8. Members of the Executive Board shall hold office for one year or until they are replaced.

9. All Catholic school trustees present shall participate in the annual general meeting of the Association but only members of participating school boards or associations may vote at the election of a representative to the Executive Board.

10. There shall be no limitations as to the number of trustee delegates from any school board or association whether participating financially or not.

11. The dues payable by participating school boards or associations shall be determined by the Executive Board in general or special session, but the basic budget, as far as forseeable, for the following calender year, shall be presented by the newly-elected Executive Board to the general meeting of the Association.

12. The returning officers and all members of the Executive shall vacate their offices immediately following the adjournment of the meeting at which their successors were elected, or appointed by the Executive Committee if no election for a specific diocesan area could be held.

13. The Executive Board shall meet semi-annually in regular session and in special session as convened by the Executive Committee at which sessions the agenda, and by majority vote, any matter may be considered.

14. A quorum at any such meeting of the Executive Board shall be determined as follows:

i) Invitations shall be sent to all members of the Executive Board, giving date, time and place along with the agenda,

ii) At least two members of the Executive Committee shall be present,

iii) If a majority of members of the Executive Board are present at the meeting, a resolution passed shall be final and sent to all the Catholic school authorities of the province,

If a majority of members of the Executive Board are notpresent, then the minutes of the meeting shall first of all be sent to all members of the Executive Board showing the recorded vote,

Unless there is an objection in writing from a member of the Executive Board within two weeks of the sending of the minutes, his consent shall be presumed,

If there are written objections the resolution shall be lost or carried, depending upon the will of the majority of the members of the Executive Board and the minutes shall then be circulated to the Catholic school authorities.

15a. At the spring meeting, the Executive Board shall appoint a Resolutions Committee,

i) The duties of the Resolutions Committee shall be to receive, consider and present to the Annual Meeting of the Association all resolutions received for consideration of such annual meeting with ot without any recommendations as the members thereof may desire,

ii) All resolutions presented by participating boards should be made in writing and be in the hands of the Chairman of the Resolutions Committe one week prior to the date of the meeting, provided that the annual meeting by a two-thirds vote, may consider any resolution,

iii) All amendments to the Constitution shall require a three-fourths majority of such members entitled to vote as are present at the annual general meeting of the

Association, notice of the proposal of such amendments having been given to all members at least one month prior to the meeting date.

15b. Resolutions to be presented to future A.C.S.T.A. conventions other than those mentioned in by-law 15a shall be in the hands of the Executive by the end of August for the September meeting of the A.C.S.T.A. Board of Directors, to permit circulation of resolutions and background material.

16a. At each fall meeting, the Executive shall prepare a tentative budget for adoption by the general meeting.

16b. Renumeration of officers and employees shall be indicated in the annual budget but shall be subject to confirmation or amendment by a resolution passed at a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Association.

17. The Executive Board either directly or through the Executive Committee shall set up such regional diocesan committees as are required to co-ordinate the activities of the Association in that area.

18. A copy of the last amended by-laws of the Association shall be sent to the Provincial Executive Office of the A.S.T.A. and shall be circulated to all Catholic school boards and Catholic educational associations concerned.

19. For the purpose of carrying out its objects, the Association may in a sum not exceeding the amount approved at the annual meeting of the Association as its budget for the ensuing year, borrow or raise or secure the payment of money in such manner as it thinks fit, and in particular by the issue of debentures, but this power shall be exercised only under the authority of the Association, and in no case shall debentures be issued without the sanction of an extraordinary resolution of the Association, such extraordinary resolution to be passed by a majority of not less than three-fourths of the members present at a meeting called by two weeks written notice, specifying the intention to propose the debenture resolution.

20. The Executive Board shall adopt a seal of the Association to be used in the same manner as seals are used in companies incorporated under the Companies Act of Alberta and shall at all times be in the custody of the Executive Director.

21. The books and records of the Association may be inspected by any member thereof at the Association's place of business between the hours of 9 A.M. and 5 P.M. on any week day, Saturdays and holidays excepted, upon such member giving three days' written notice to the Executive Director of his intention so to inspect.

DATED THIS 30th DAY March A.D. 1966.

WITNESS

1. Plan and organize annual convention.
2. Inform the Catholic community about the Convention proceedings by mailing copies of the minutes and proceedings to the appropriate parties.
3. Ensure representation at annual Canadian Conference on Education.
4. Encourage separate school boards to prepare and submit briefs to the Royal Commission on Education.
5. Submit (ACSTA) brief to the Royal Commission on Education.
6. Explore possibility of introducing a Junior College Bill in the legislature.
7. Draft teacher recruitment guidelines.
8. Prepare and circulate to separate school boards a list of Catholic teachers who attended Summer Session.
9. Forward invitations to Catholic teachers and administrators to attend Summer School course elaborated in consultation with Brother Aloysius.
10. Assist separate school boards resolve financing problems.
11. Promote the establishment of new separate school districts to make "Christian education" accessible to more children of Catholic parentage.

As was noted, the above list is only an indicator of the activities engaged in by the ACSTA prior to incorporation. Other enterprises were also undertaken. After incorporation these were pursued with equal zeal. Though all merit documentation, only four issues and the related ACSTA activities will be presented in some detail—the boundaries issue, corporate assessment, teacher-training and recruitment, and blueprints for the future.

School District Boundaries

As has been mentioned a number of times, school district boundaries became a contentious issue following the establishment of the large administrative units. Also mentioned was that the creation of the "division" brought immediate censure from the Catholic community. In published articles, formal briefs, newspaper editorials, and the public forum, Catholics expressed their opposition to the amalgamation of 50 to 80 four-by-four school districts. Despite such opposition, the government did not waver. Undaunted by this intransigence, Catholics, particularly where they were solidly united in purpose, maintained their opposition.

Not only did they maintain opposition, they also directed their energies to positive action. One such action was the establishment of "dummy districts"—later referred to as "satellite districts." These were legal entities which met the requirements of a separate school district but did not have an operating school within their respective boundaries. The trustees of these districts made arrangements with a "parent" or "operating" school district to educate the children from the satellite areas. The employment of this strategy enabled increasing numbers of Catholic parents to have their children educated in Roman Catholic schools.

Many individuals had to be involved to form new districts. Perhaps the single individual whose efforts in this area were head and shoulders above all others is Father Kindervater. With missionary zeal Father Kindervater exhorted the Catholic community to establish such districts and participated personally in their establishment whenever called upon. His work in this field was especially successful in northern Alberta. Though Father Kindervater's contribution in this field has been momentous, that of the ACSTA cannot be ignored. Successive Boards of Directors and Executive Directors were always anxious to provide whatever help they could in the establishment of separate school districts and schools.

In general, committed Catholics were not content with establishing satellite districts. Whenever the opportunity presented itself, they strove for more ambitious objectives. At times their perseverance was rewarded. The developments in Legal in the 1960s are a case in point. An account of these developments follows.

Legal School District #1738 was established on December 14, 1907. From that date until January, 1939 it was an autonomous district administered by a local board of trustees elected by the ratepayers of the district. However, in January 1939, the Legal School District along with 84 other school districts in the adjacent or surrounding area were amalgamated to form Sturgeon School Division #24. As part of the large administrative unit, the ratepayers within the four-by-four districts lost direct control of their schools. Though the government encouraged the ratepayers of the small districts to continue electing local school boards, it was evident to all that these boards no longer had any responsibilities or authority. Decision-making was now in the hands of about five or six trustees, each elected to represent areas that encompassed approximately 17 of the former school districts. Needless to say, many ratepayers resented the loss of autonomy in educational affairs and voiced their dissatisfaction to provincial authorities.

The government, however, was not prepared to retract or restrain its policy of amalgamation. By December 31, 1950, a total of 58 divisions had been established. Chalmers, in *Schools of the Foothills Province*, comments on this development:

> By 1964, the norm for public school administration in Alberta had become the large, multi-school system, and—the pattern of instruction had become the graded

> school. The nearly 2,000 prewar one-room schools had shrunk by the end of hostilities to about 1,000 and by 1963 to fewer than 200.
>
> (Chalmers, 1967, p. 293)

Yet despite this expansion, school divisions did not represent the ultimate model of administration. "The shape of things to come was foreshadowed in the 1950 passage of the County Act, and in the erection, on January 1, 1951, of the counties of Grande Prairie and Vulcan" (Chalmers, 1967, p. 294). The new administrative units combined municipal and educational functions formerly relegated to municipalities and school divisions.

The rationale for changing to the county system was based on a number of assumptions. These were:

1. One council would avoid irresponsible spending. Many people concerned with municipal administration had come to believe that school boards often were extravagant with money which they had not had to raise. Under the county system this would not occur.
2. A single administrative unit would preclude differential tax levies in areas where no school system over-lapped into three or more municipal districts.
3. A single administrative unit would eliminate duplication of services.

Acting on these assumptions, the Alberta legislature empowered the government to set up four "experimental" counties in which the management of all civil affairs was vested in an elected county council. Subcommittees were placed in charge of education and health. The experiment was to last four years, after which time a vote was to be taken to ascertain the ratepayers' preference. Evidently the experiment was judged favorably for by 1965, 28 counties had been established.

Not all taxpayers, however, favored the county system. Most adamant in their opposition were those individuals who earlier had expressed reservations about divisional organization. This was particularly evident in areas where residents were concerned about minority educational rights—for example, the French-speaking population in and around the Morinville-Legal area.

Yet despite this opposition, on January 1, 1961 the County of Sturgeon #15 was erected in place of the division and municipality. Four years later a vote was taken. According to Paul Chauvet and Roger Préfontaine, the ratepayers were unanimous in their rejection of the county system. And so in July of 1965 upon an Order-in-Council, Sturgeon County #15 reverted back to a municipal and divisional system of local government. This remains a historic landmark. To date, no other county formation has been rescinded.

Confident after successfully rejecting an administrative structure that relegates responsibility for educational matters to a subcommittee, the ratepayers of Legal and the surrounding area embarked on a more ambitious enterprise. To these individuals the division was not satisfactory because local taxpayers had no control over teacher recruitment, teacher selection, and had no say in defining the religious instruction they desired for their children. Led by Roger Préfontaine, Paul Chauvet and a few others, and advised by Father Picard and Father Kindervater, the local Catholic community sought permission to break away from the Sturgeon Division. Perseverance and dedication were rewarded. On August 1, 1965 the school districts of Legal, Diligence, Pontiac, Springfield, West Legal, and St. Emile were granted the right to establish their own respective separate school districts. And so, 26 years after being amalgamated into a division, the six districts mentioned regained local autonomy in educational matters.

Initially, each of the six districts elected its own board of trustees. Although there were six autonomous boards, according to Roger Préfontaine the Legal board "ran the show" because it was the district that had the operating school. With Roger Préfontaine, Peter Titryn, and Marcel Coulombe as the first trustees, the Legal Board had difficult challenges to meet. Null tuition agreements with the five other school boards had to be drafted, bussing arrangements made, and financial and administrative details had to be resolved. With the support of the entire community, pragmatic solutions were found and the separate school at Legal was successful in delivering a "Christian" education to the attending students.

About two years later another milestone in the history of the Roman Catholic separate schools in Alberta was reached. Permission was granted to dissolve the boundaries of the six districts and to unite them into one larger district. In this manner the present-day Legal School District #1738 came into being.

Dissolution of the boundaries of the six districts also entailed the dissolution of the six respective boards. From this time (ca. 1965) one board, elected at large, assumed responsibility for all administrative matters pertaining to education in the consolidated area. Greater efficiency without compromising local control was thus gained.

Following the developments related above, briefs regarding the boundaries issue were consistently presented to the government. Though seemingly sympathetic, the government took no action. This intransigence prompted the ACSTA to endorse the preparation of yet another comprehensive brief. Assigned to Mr. Kevin McKinney (Executive Director of the ACSTA), Mr. Mat Tellier, and Nicholas Tkach, the task was completed in the summer of 1975. In September of the same year it was presented to The Executive Council of the Province of Alberta. To date (November, 1982), it is the last brief on the boundaries issue that was presented to the government. The contents of this document follow.

BRIEF TO THE COMMISSION ON SCHOOL DISTRICT BOUNDARIES

INTRODUCTION

This brief, prepared by an ad hoc committee of the Alberta Catholic School Trustees' Association, includes a summary description and analysis of issues identified, by a number of Catholic School Boards, as major problems that have emerged due to governmental legislation and policy concerning separate school boundaries. The central dimension of the submission is the presentation of changes that are imperative to the continued growth and improvement of separate school systems. Anticipated changes, in many instances, will be responses to and/or outcomes of the trends and problems defined in Section II.

SECTION I: THE RATIONALE FOR ALTERING THE EXISTENT LEGISLATION

Justifications for requesting changes in the present School Act can be posited from at least two different yet equally significant positions—the legal and the ethical. The legal rights of separate schools in Alberta are defined in three distinct pieces of legislation:

1. Section 93 of the British North America Act, 1867.
2. Chapter 29 of the Ordinances of the Northwest Territories, 1901.
3. Section 17 of The Alberta Act, 1905.

Section 93 of *The British North America Act, 1867* reads:

In and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make Laws in relation to Education, subject and according to the following Provisions:

1. Nothing in any such Law shall *prejudicially affect* any *Right* or *Privilege* with respect to Denominational Schools which any Class of Persons have by Law in the Province at the Union;
2. All the Powers, Privileges, and Duties at the Union by Law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the Separate Schools and School Trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic Subjects shall be and the same are hereby extended to the Dissentient Schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic Subjects in Quebec;
3. When in any Province a System of Separate or Dissentient Schools *exists by Law at the Union or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the*

> *Province*, an Appeal shall lie to the Governor General in Council from any Act or Decision of any Provincial Authority affecting any Right or Privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic Minority of the Queen's Subjects in relation to Education;
>
> 4. In case any such Provincial Law as from time to time seems to the Governor General in Council requisite for the due Execution of the Provisions of this Section is not made, or in case any Decision of the Governor General in Council on any Appeal under this Section is not duly executed by the proper Provincial Authority in that behalf, then and in every such case, and as far only as the circumstances of each case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial Laws for the due Execution of the Provisions of this Section and of any Decision of the Governor General in Council under this Section.

In 1905 the education section of *The British North America Act, 1867* was changed for Alberta by Section 17 of *The Alberta Act*:

> Section 93 of the BNA Act, 1867 shall apply to the said province, with the substitution for paragraph (1) of the said s.93 of the following paragraph:
>
> (1) nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to separate schools which any class of persons have at the date of the passing of this Act, under the terms of Chapters 29 and 30 of the Ordinances of the Northwest Territories, passed in the year 1901, or with respect to religious instruction in any public or separate school as provided for in the said ordinances;
>
> (2) in the appropriation by the Legislature or distribution by the Government of the province of any moneys for the support of schools organized and carried on in accordance with the said Chapter 29 or any Act passed in amendment thereof, or in substitution therefore, there shall be no discrimination against schools of any class described in the said Chapter 29;
>
> (3) where the expression "by-law" is employed in paragraph (3) of the said Section 93, it shall be held to mean the law as set out in the said Chapters 29 and 30, and where the expression "at the Union" is employed, in the said paragraph (3) it shall be held to mean the date at which this Act comes into force.

Chapter 29 of the *Ordinances of the Northwest Territories*, 1901, referred to in Section 17 of the Alberta Act provides regulations for the organization and administration of school districts. In reference to the rights and liabilities of separate school districts, Section 45 of the said Ordinance reads:

> After the establishment of a separate school district under the provisions of this Ordinance such *separate school district* and the board thereof shall possess and exercise all rights, powers, privileges, and be subject to the same liabilities and method of government as is herein provided in respect of public school districts.

The intent of the cited legislation was to give separate school districts rights and privileges identical to those exercised by the public school districts. Unfortunately, developments subsequent to the passage of the above Acts have not brought about the realization of these objectives.

The ethical case for the requested change, though of a philosophical nature, is in many ways as valid as the empirical grounds entailed in the above-mentioned legislation. A few of the points pertinent to this perspective are presented below.

In a 'state of limited commitment,' man's search for and convictions about ultimate values have always been considered outside the domain of the state's competence. Permitting to the citizen development of character according to patterns of conviction freely arrived at and freely held has developed characters of sufficient strength and devotion to national convictions to enable the state to meet the objectives it has set for itself. Only by continuing to permit such full and free development to organized moral forces or the right to dissent against them or to change commitment, can the state assure to the citizen and posterity the 'blessings of liberty.' This assurance has not and cannot be realized by elimating genuine differences in the secular and sacral planes of national life. Rather, it can be gained by encouraging pluralism as a means to attaining civil peace without reducing the intellectual and spiritual life of the nation to a formless pulp.

SECTION II: DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM/S

Specific information relevant to the preparation of the brief was obtained by the committee from the following separate school boards:

1. Bonnyville
2. Bow Island
3. Cold Lake
4. Fort McMurray
5. Fort Saskatchewan
6. Grand Centre
7. Manning
8. Pincher Creek
9. Taber
10. Westlock

Though specific problems in each area manifested some degree of variation, the following four concerns seem to constitute the common major issues confronting separate school boards:

1. The problem of establishing a boundary policy that will result in optimum benefit to all parties concerned.
2. The need to resolve and/or simplify the administrative aspects of the problem associated with assessment.
3. Disenfranchisement of Catholic parents who are not residents of an established separate school district.
4. Transportation.

Each of the problems warrants elaboration.

A. A BOUNDARY POLICY THAT WILL RESULT IN OPTIMAL BENEFIT TO ALL PARTIES CONCERNED.

Our democratic and pluralistic nation is by definition committed to the ethos of ensuring 'equality of educational opportunity' to all its citizens and their children. But by continuing to restrict the parameters of separate school districts so that they coincide with the anachronistic limits of the nominal public school districts, separate school systems are compelled to operate under serious (financial and attendant educational) disadvantages as compared to the public school divisions and counties. Four of the more basic ones are:

1. Separate school boards are denied the right to educate Roman Catholic students who reside outside their 'four-by-four' boundaries unless the surrounding areas establish separate school districts—'satellite districts.' An adaptive policy of this nature involves cumbersome and often frustrating administrative work for the residents of districts where Roman Catholics are the minority, as well as for governmental bureaucracies. It takes no astute student of the sociology of human interaction to recognize that such a political ploy frequently brings to the fore unnecessary antagonisms and divisiveness among the populace of the geographic area concerned. Legislative action rescinding and/or clarifying the existing acts in a manner that would grant Roman Catholic minorities the inalienable privilege of exercising their democratic rights without hindrance would do much to ameliorate, if not eliminate, the problems indicated.
2. Related to the issues mentioned in subsection (a) is the concomitant problem of Catholic boards educating students who reside outside their legal boundaries. Boards who undertake the education of non-resident students do not receive supplementary requisitions. One example of such a disadvantage is the situation at the Rosary Separate School at Manning, Alberta. Of the 226 students enrolled in this school, 105 are non-residents. This means that the Rosary School Board cannot receive supplementary requisitions for approximately 47 percent of the total school population. To ease the financial burden thus imposed on those localities that have an operative educational center, tuition

agreements have to be contracted with the satellite districts—another example of needless expenditure of time and resources. But it does not follow that the specified financial problem is necessarily resolved by tuition agreements. At Pincher Creek St. Michael's Roman Catholic School District No. 18, one-third of the students reside outside the district boundary and pay no tuition fee because they are transported by the public system's vans without charge. Thirty percent of the students who attend the schools at the Westlock Roman Catholic Separate School District No. 110 also reside outside the district and pay no fee because no tuition agreement has been concluded with the divisional authorities. Adding to the injustice is the fact that these students cannot be counted as 'responsible students' for building purposes. School boards in this situation are unable to expand their facilities to meet the demands of enrollment and improved pedagogical techniques and/or technical equipment. Despite these obstacles the separate system has continued to operate and flourish. This can only be attributed to the dedication and ingenuity of the separate school supporters and their administrators rather than to governmental policy.

3. When Roman Catholics constitute a majority within a given district(s), the law, de facto, denies them the privilege of forming a separate district. Often this segment of the population is the minority group within the division or county (e.g., Sturgeon School Division). Consequently, the children of these families are coerced into attending secular-oriented public schools. Technicalities of this type violate the democratic intent of legislation that was initially passed to ensure and protect the rights of minorities.
4. Conclusions deduced by educational researchers generally corroborate the validity of significant statistical correlations found between the educational growth of students and their 'measurable performance' and the funds that are spent on providing well-rounded and rich learning experiences. In this respect Catholic separate school boards are at a distinct disadvantage. Explicit examples of discrepancies in the amount of money expended per pupil between the public and separate systems make the point clear. The Rosary Separate Board at Manning receives a total of $9,275.00 in supplementary requisitions from all districts in the area. This amounts to $41.04 for each student who attends the Rosary School. The public school division receives $356,765.00 in supplementary requisitions or $113.84 per pupil. Nor is this an isolated case. The differential favoring the public schools prevails when provincial averages are calculated (See Table 50).

Table 50

Per Pupil Expenditure on Education, 1971-72, 1972-73 *

	1971–72	*1972–73*
All Schools	866.96	950.22
School Divisions and Counties	911.46	990.57
City Public Schools	889.43	970.70
R.C. Separate Schools (City, Town, Village & Rural)	792.03	887.29
City Separate Schools	811.10	903.21
Town and Village Separate Schools	708.60	736.14

B. THE NEED TO RESOLVE AND/OR SIMPLIFY THE ADMINISTRATIVE ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM ASSOCIATED WITH ASSESSMENT.

Present administrative policies require separate school supporters to sign a specific form for the municipal office before their property can become assessable for separate school purposes. Oversight or unawareness of this on the part of property owners often leads to the loss of tax revenue to the separate system. On occasion, tax monies are not rightly allocated because assessment rolls are not always readily available to the public for inspection and correction. Bureaucratic indifference and lack of cooperation on the part of some municipal employees are the factors responsible for such a situation. Finally, unnecessary complexity and attendant problems related to those mentioned above are added to the assessment issue by subsection 9 of Section 59, subsection 2 of Section 61 and Section 62 of the School Act.

C. DISENFRANCHISEMENT.

To obtain the benefits of centralization, minority Roman Catholic ratepayers in public school divisional units were forced to resort to the legal expedient of forming satellite separate school districts which had no reason for existence except to conclude tuition agreements with the board of the centrally located school. In gaining the advantages of centralization for their children, the ratepayers of the satellite districts lost the basic democratic right of exercising their franchise in reference to local educational administration. The pervasiveness and extent of the injustice can be concluded from the following data. (It is important to bear in mind that inferences drawn from Table 51 are based on the assumption that the average number of children attending school per Roman Catholic family is the same for resident and non-resident families.)

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* *(Department of Education Annual Review 1973,* Table R)

Table 51

Assumed Percentage of Disenfranchised Electors, 1972-73 *

School District	Total Enrollment 1972-73	Number of Non-Resident Students	Percentage of Non-Resident Students	Assumed Percentage of Disenfranchised Electors in Attendance Area
Bonnyville	785	286	36	37
Cold Lake	289	107	37	37
Grand Centre	172	63	36	36
Rosary	226	105	46	46
Pincher Creek	420	134	31	31
Taber	565	214	37	37

In the attendance areas of the separate school districts listed, about 37% of the Roman Catholic ratepayers are disenfranchised. It should not be necessary for the members of this minority to accept the status of second-class citizens to protect the right to educate their children in the school of their choice.

D. TRANSPORTATION.

Under existing legislation, policy determination and the administration of pupil transportation programs manifest serious problems. Among the more obvious is the economic waste that results from overlapping bus routes. In a society that is seriously questioning the ever-increasing costs of education and one that is becoming keenly aware of a pending energy crisis, it is paradoxical that local school authorities often have two buses scheduled on the same route/s. Provincial and local governments need to resolve this matter so that as little as possible of the funds appropriated for education will be diverted from the direct education of the children.

From the economic standpoint, Roman Catholic separate districts are at a marked disadvantage. Separate boards receive no grants from districts with which they have no tuition agreements. To be eligible for these revenues, the minority group would first need to form a satellite district and then conclude a tuition agreement. To proceed with this political game in every district possible involves needless work at both levels of government. Further, it would not resolve the dilemma of bussing grants in those districts where the Roman Catholics constitute the majority.

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* (Data obtained from ACSTA files)

Governmental policy concerning the boundaries question has had pernicious effects on pupil transportation—particularly when the latter has been utilized as a political ploy. For example, it has not been beyond the temerity of some public school boards to exercise their authority in arranging bussing schedules and routes so as to practically guarantee that students in a specific area attend a particular school. The effects of such action for separate systems and for community solidarity need no elaboration.

Complex as the transportation problem is, several possible courses of action seem to hold promise. Cooperation, instead of competition and/or conflict, between the public and separate school boards could bring about transportation facilities that would complement rather than impede each other. Where antagonisms are too deeply entrenched in the minds of the public for such cooperation, some of the problems mentioned above may be resolved by placing the responsibility of transporting students in the hands of municipal authorities. School board members would then be absolved of a technical and administrative concern and could devote more time and energy to matters more directly related to education. And this could be accomplished without severing local autonomy over the operation of pupil transportation.

Regional consolidation of transportation systems now operated by some school jurisdictions is another promising and practical solution to the transportation question. Demographic and geographic factors would be the principal determinants in the regionalization of facilities and coordination of purchases of vehicles and supplies. An extension of this principle, recently adopted in Quebec, is to transfer all control and financing of school transportation from the Department of Education to the Department of Transport. Transfers of this type promise greater utilization of the public and school bus facilities by integrating, where possible, both transport systems. A number of variant plans can be developed from this basic scheme.

Regardless of what steps are initiated to counter the transportation problems that have plagued boards since the inception of centralization, no plan will offer pat solutions. Dedication and a view of priorities that points to the primary significance of the education of students should guide the policies of the decision-makers.

SECTION III: STATEMENT AND ANALYSES OF ALTERNATIVES

Over the past few decades the centralization of schools has witnessed parallel growth in the number and complexity of problems that confront separate school boards—particularly those situated in rural areas. The nature of these problems makes it impossible to resolve all the difficulties encountered by putting into effect a plan of action conceived within a structural-functional framework. What is required is a procedure which focuses on the evolution of end-goals and the requirements that are necessary if these goals are to be attained. In the attempt to identify a policy characterized by these features, the pros and cons of four possible alternatives are discussed below.

A. EXTENDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SATELLITE DISTRICTS.

Barring changes in legislation that would ensure the adoption of a just policy on the part of the government toward Roman Catholic separate school supporters, the minority concerned has no choice other than continuing the establishment of more satellite districts. General reference was made to the needless administrative burdens that are created by the formation of such units in Section II. Some specific examples illustrating this point are now in order.

1. The public schools in Bow Island and the Board of Trustees for the Bow Island Roman Catholic Separate School District No. 82 service twenty-six school districts. While six of these have been established as satellite districts, thirteen more could be formed because Roman Catholics are the minority in these areas.
2. Thirty-nine school districts comprise the Pincher Creek school division. In twenty-eight districts Roman Catholics are the minority and could set up satellite districts.
3. Data obtained from four of the subdivisions that are part of the Bonnyville School Division show that seventeen of the fifty-two districts reported can be organized as satellites.

The foregoing data give one an idea of the number of satellite units that could be formed throughout the province. If the establishment of these continued so that their numbers approached the maximum limit, the amount of required administrative work at the local and provincial levels would increase dramatically. The degree of increase could be conceptualized solely from the fact that seven pages of the School Act are devoted to spelling out the procedures to be followed in establishing and administering separate districts. Other than being 'legal expedients,' these units are burdens to be suffered by the minorities until legislation is passed that is compatible with our 'enlightened' age.

B. THE OPEN-DOOR POLICY.

The adoption of an open-door policy, without restriction, could conceivably lessen some of the concerns that Roman Catholic School Boards encounter as a consequence of the government's present boundaries policy. Of major significance is that inauguration of the open-door expedient would do away with the need for Roman Catholic minorities to form satellite districts. Should the necessity for these districts become obsolete, the problems associated with the formation and administration of such units would also be eliminated.

But the positive aspects of an open-door policy are offset by negative features which have the potential to undermine the basic democratic rights. To illustrate, should a sizeable proportion of the non-Catholic population choose to become supporters of the minority system, and if in doing so they become electors of this district, then the door would be open for the election of a predominantly non-Catholic or anti-Catholic board. (The converse would hold true for Protestant separate school districts.) In the event this occurred, it is not difficult to envisage the eventual transformation of the climate and tenor of the specific separate school. Any course of action that could lead to this type of outcome is, in effect, contradicting the original intent of legislation passed to grant and protect the rights of the minorities. To qualify the open-door policy so that it would be *ultra vires* insofar as it would allow individuals of other than the minority religion to vote for school trustees would lead to the problem dealt with in Section II under the subtitle of Disenfranchisement.

Endorsement of an unrestricted open-door policy could also mean exceptionally high transfer rates. To prevent the occurrence of this type of situation, it might become necessary to include a clause in the policy that would guarantee the elector's support for the system chosen for a given number of years. This offers a ready solution to high turnovers but at the tremendously high price of denying the individual the right to exercise freedom of choice. Choice would be restricted to specific times analagous to the Redemption Days of Tsarist Russia before the emancipation of the serfs.

C. ATTENDANCE AREAS.

The majority of separate school boards contacted favored changes in legislation that would permit extending district boundaries to coincide with the attendance area of each centralized school. Though this proposal warrants consideration, some of its less favorable aspects should be mentioned. These are:

1. Problems are bound to arise when representatives set themselves to the task of determining the limits of specific boundaries. Political and/or economic considerations may take precedence over the educational welfare of the students involved.

2. Demographic changes among today's highly transitory rural population may necessitate frequent boundary revisions. The potential economic and psychological strains of such a situation may well be a negative factor of the "iceberg" type.

Despite the drawbacks of the "attendance area" proposal, many problems could be solved if the School Act were amended to make the establishment of such areas possible. In effect, this is the modern operative district and an amendment of this type would eliminate the non-functioning "four-by-four" units. The Minister now is empowered to enlarge any district at his discretion. Section 18, subsection 1 of the School Act reads:

> The Minister may add lands to or take lands from a district and may divide a district into two or more districts.

But enlargement to correspond to the attendance area is a matter which is of such importance that it warrants actual legislation. It is not a matter the resolution of which depends upon the decision of one individual. The present provision giving discretionary power to the Minister should be changed to grant the extension of boundaries as a matter of right to the taxpayers. A solution along these lines would incorporate all the advantages of the previously mentioned alternatives without entailing their deficiencies. In summary, this proposal would, it is believed, go far to provide equality of opportunity and treatment to Roman Catholic students and taxpayers, respectively, thus enabling separate school supporters to provide first-class educational facilities for their children.

D. COTERMINOUS BOUNDARIES.

A fourth possible amendment would be one which would extend the boundaries of separate school districts so that they would coincide with the boundaries of the public school division. School boards of centralized separate schools situated in large divisions tend to resist this option. Their reasons are valid. Coterminous boundaries could be disastrous to some separate systems if these were held responsible for transporting and educating Roman Catholic students who reside in the remote recesses of relatively large territorial divisions. In this regard, The County of Forty Mile is a prime example.

But the idea of coterminous boundaries need not be an impediment to any school district. If legislation concerning this alternative were not made too rigid but, rather, allowed for flexibility according to extenuating circumstances, then coterminous boundaries could be the best possible answer to the present dilemma. Not only would a viable coterminous boundaries policy include the advantages of attendance areas, it could manifest a number of unique positive features. For instance:

1. Coterminous boundaries would preclude the possibility of political ploys playing a part in determining separate school district boundaries.
2. Coterminous boundaries would pave the way for closer and friendlier cooperation between separate and public boards. Common sense should illustrate, even to the obtuse, the folly of transporting limited numbers of students unreasonable distances for the sole purpose of educating said students in a particular school. Confrontations would undoubtedly arise but none need to remain unsolved if both parties gave foremost consideration to the education of the children.
3. Coterminous boundaries, to a greater extent than attendance areas, would prevent unnecessary duplication of facilities. Services offered by each board would complement and/or supplement each other, raising thereby the standard of educational opportunity for all the children without increasing the per capita costs.

One should not be misled, however, into thinking that the ad hoc committee is recommending that immediate legislation be passed for the purpose of establishing coterminous boundaries. Rather, it is hoped that the notion of attendance areas be adopted as the first step towards the eventual acceptance and realization of the more ambitious and promising idea of coterminous boundaries. Parochialism has too long dictated the nature of local, national, and international relationships. Long overdue is the need for all mankind to expend concerted effort to initiate and consolidate friendly cooperation among diverse groups engaged in the common cause of educating the youth—a cause which should lead to the betterment of mankind.

CONCLUSION

Neo–Thomists view the primary attribute of the cosmos as being both ideational and material with God being the force that 'ties' the two together. They further explain that this Pinnacle is accessible through faith (as dramatized by Mosaic Revelation and practiced by Roman Catholics) and through reason. As V. C. Morris points out:

> The human mind can not only entertain 'ideas' and perceive 'things' but it can work its way to Absolute Truth, and in the attainment of Absolute Truth it can 'see' pure Being.

It is the conviction of Roman Catholic parents that their children should be educated in schools that supplement and/or complement the efforts of the church and family in providing an education that is in accord with these theological tenets.

Earlier it was mentioned that views on the question of ultimate reality cannot be prescribed for the individual by the state. Legislators and members of the Executive support this principle and express the need to protect individual rights and responsibilities, preserve diversity and independence of action, and provide justice for all. But if the expression of these beliefs is to be more than rhetoric, immediate steps must be taken to put into effect specific solutions proposed by the committee. These solutions fall well within the conceptual framework of governmental authorities and the public at large and can be implemented by a few amendments to the School Act.

Though the brief was favorably received it seemed that the government would do nothing more than it did in the past. Such, though, was not the case. Government "machinery" has tremendous inertia and requires much effort to set into motion. By consistent reminders to the cabinet the ACSTA eventually got results. In 1979 the government commissioned the Sage Institute of Canada to assess the situation in the Bonnyville/Cold Lake/Grand Centre region and project what future needs might be as expected growth occurs.

The following summer (August, 1980), the Institute published the study under the caption "The Future of Education in the Bonnyville/Cold Lake/Grand Centre Area of Alberta." One of the major important sections of this report was the recommendations. Of these, Recommendation 2 had significant implications for the boundaries issue. The first sentence of this recommendation reads as follows: "It is therefore recommended that Scenario III, Alternative A be adopted" (Sage Institute, 1980, p. 56). What strategy and structure did the Sage Institute suggest? In other words, what did Scenario III, Alternative A encompass? The report describes this plan clearly and succinctly.

> *Scenario III—Cooperation*
>
> *Alternative A*
>
> *Description and Implications*
>
> This alternative anticipates the creation of two large districts to provide education to the entire area. Several steps are necessary in order to accomplish this alternative. They must be done in the following exact, sequential order:
>
> 1. Communicate explicit details concerning this alternative to the entire population of the area well in advance of implementing any changes.
> 2. On a motion initiated by Board #46 or upon receipt of a petition from electors of Duclos District #2, dissolve Duclos District #2.
> 3. Simultaneously with dissolution of Duclos #2 expand the boundaries of Bonnyville School District #2665 to include all of Bonnyville School Division #46 including Métis Settlement #9 and sufficient territory north of the

> present divisional boundary to include the proposed heavy oil plant sites and the Primrose Range Oil Fields. This larger district would be coterminous with the Division and could be called The Beaver School District or some other suitable name.
>
> 4. Annex Métis Settlement #10 to the County of St. Paul for school purposes only.
> 5. Upon receipt of a petition from electors of the Roman Catholic faith, establish a separate school district with boundaries coterminous with the new public school district, including the separate school districts of Bevan, Willow Trail, Cold Lake and Grand Centre within the new larger separate school district which could be called the Beaver River separate school district or some other suitable name.
> 6. Include Medley in the new, large school district.
> 7. A workable solution for the board structure of each of the newly formed districts would be boards composed of eight elected members, four from the west and four from the east on each board.
> 8. The two new boards could administer SREG funds and tuition agreements as required.
>
> (Sage Institute of Canada, 1980, pp. 48–49)

As noted, with this Scenario as the base, the investigating team proposed its recommendations. Those relevant to the topic considered in this section are included below.

> This scenario [Scenario III] addresses each of the principles more completely than does any of the other alternatives. When decisions are made by only two boards for the entire area the probability that broad interests are addressed is increased. The larger district boards, because of their responsibility to manage education for all children throughout the entire area, are less likely to be swayed by minor local non-educational interests than are smaller boards. The opportunity to approach both government and industry from a broad base of community support will make the larger boards more effective in bargaining for benefits than smaller boards traditionally have been. Integrated future planning will be facilitated by locating decision-making authority in fewer boards.
>
> Scenario III will promote equal educational opportunity throughout the region. Equal access to funds will be a reality. This is crucial so that there can be equality in providing buildings and programs. Because the new assessment will come onstream after the population growth has peaked, and because the assessment increase when it does occur will be short-lived as depreciation allowances begin to occur, it is essential that equal access to funding occur throughout the development period. Otherwise the rich/poor differential will leave a negative heritage that will hamper education in parts of the region for decades.
>
> It becomes even more essential to adopt this scenario when it is realized that if Duclos disappears, if Bonnyville S.D. #2665 is expanded and a new large separate school district is created, the resulting districts can then only be expanded incrementally as portrayed under Scenario II A. In effect this means that there is a "once only" opportunity to create the one large district. If a lesser expansion is undertaken, the boundaries of that smaller area will likely remain indefinitely. The law and the circumstances preclude the possibility of gradually moving toward the large district concept. If it is to happen, it must happen all at once.

> The impending population explosion and consequent need for new buildings and expanded programs that equal financing can make possible have created a need for responsive change now. It is therefore advocated that the two needed districts be created as soon as possible.
>
> The key to implementing this scenario is the need to switch the board which serves Roman Catholic residents near Bonnyville from being a public board to becoming a separate board. This is required to prevent newcomers from taking control of the Bonnyville District Board. Such a takeover could cause loss of the district religious and cultural flavor that now obtains in Bonnyville. This condition does not exist in Cold Lake/Grande Centre. It is for this reason that the action to create the one new large separate district must commence in Bonnyville.
>
> It is submitted that the new boards, though much larger than existing boards, are still small in comparison with other rural and urban jurisdictions in the Province. It is submitted that close contact with the individual communities can still occur through the operation of school councils, Home and School Associations and other community liaison structures that the new boards and their constituents may wish to create.
>
> (Sage Institute of Canada, 1980, pp. 56–58)

As proposed, the recommendations were supportive of the Catholic cause. Such support stimulated many Catholics in the Bonnyville/Grande Centre/Cold Lake region to work even harder to achieve a long–sought but seemingly elusive objective—coterminous boundaries. Of the many individuals involved in this enterprise, Mr. Michael Beaudoin, then Superintendent of the Bonnyville, Grande Centre, and Cold Lake Roman Catholic separate school districts, deserves special mention. His tireless efforts and inspiring leadership contributed invaluably to the cause. And helping on every possible occasion in a consultative and advisory capacity was the ACSTA.

The coordinated work was finally rewarded. By Order–in–Council September 10, 1980 the boundaries of the public and Roman Catholic separate systems in the Bonnyville/Grande Centre/Cold Lake region became coterminous. Within these boundaries were 69 public school districts that had formerly constituted Bonnyville School Division #46 and six separate districts—namely, Bonnyville #2665, Grand Centre #67, Cold Lake #64, Bevin #124, Willow Trail #125, and Elizabeth #4886. So came into being Lakeland School District #5460 and Lakeland Roman Catholic Separate School District #150. Each system elects its own board of trustees and has its own superintendent. One transportation manager is in charge of bussing.

As mentioned above, the establishment of coterminous boundaries in the Lakeland region was precipitated by the work of contemporary local and provincial Catholics and Catholic organizations. Though the contemporary work of these Catholics deserves credit, earlier effort cannot be overlooked. The setting up of coterminous boundaries was the culmination of a process that was initiated by those concerned with minority educational rights shortly after 1936. September 10, 1980 was therefore a momentous day in the history of Roman Catholic education in Alberta. After four decades of struggle a goal was realized and a precedent set. It is to be hoped the latter will facilitate government endorsement and implementation of a comprehensive, flexible and equitable boundaries policy in the near future.

Corporate Assessment

In Chapter VIII it was noted that Sections 292, 293, 294, and 295 of the 1952 Amendments to the 1952 School Act made it possible to compel companies and corporations to allocate a portion of their taxes to the separate schools. It was also recorded that the cited amendments were well received by the Catholic community because the relevant legislation made possible a more equitable distribution of resources. But this does not mean that a fair division of cooperative, company, and corporate taxes was achieved in all districts of the province by the 1952 amendments. Inequities continued to place additional financial burdens on separate school districts—for example, inequity in the apportionment of corporate tax assessment for public and separate school purposes.

Concerned about the above was the ACSTA. As early as September 24, 1975 the Association suggested,

> That *all* corporate assessment be divided between public and separate school districts in the same proportion as the number of separate pupils bear to the total number of pupils enrolled in both the public and separate school districts together.
> (ACSTA, October 3, 1979, p. 1)

Reaction was favorable. The government endorsed The School Amendment Act, 1977; The Education Statutes Amendment Act, 1978; and defended Sections 57(2), 59(2), 59(8), 60.3, 63, 63.1, 64, 64.1 and 117 of the School Act RSA 1970, Chapter 329 as amended when challenged as *ultra vires* on July 24, 1979.

The endorsed amendments were not unequivocally favorable to the separate school districts. Specifically the request by the ACSTA that *all* corporate assessment be divided proportionally was not granted. However, a major concession was made—namely, *undeclared* corporate assessment was to be divided as requested in the September 1975 ACSTA submission. The definition of this policy is found in Section 62(1)–71(5) inclusive in Chapter S–3 of the Revised Statutes of Alberta, 1980 with amendments up to and including June 2, 1981. Relevant excerpts from these sections are reprinted below:

Assessment notice

62(1) When a separate school district exists, a corporation that has shareholders or members of the same religious faith as those who established the separate school district may, by giving notice to the proper officer of the municipality, require a percentage of the property in respect of which it is assessable to be entered and assessed for separate school purposes.

(2) When the corporation has shareholders, that notice shall designate the percentage of the property of the corporation in the district assessable for separate school purposes that bears the same ratio to the total assessed value of the property of the corporation in the separate school district as the value of shares of the separate school supporters bears to the total value of all shares of the corporation.

(3) If the corporation does not have shareholders or is a co-operative association the notice shall designate the percentage of the property of the corporation in the district assessable for separate school purposes that bears the same ratio to the total assessed value of the property of the corporation in the separate school district as the number of members who are separate school supporters bears to the total number of members of the corporation.

(4) The notice given by a corporation shall state that the percentage of the property of the corporation designated in the notice has been approved by a resolution of the corporation or the board of directors of the corporation.

Designation of portion of assessment for separate school purposes

70 When

(a) A separate school district is situated wholly or partly within a municipality; and

(b) there is property situated in that district in respect of which the board of the separate school district has given notice to a corporation under section 68,

the proper officer for the municipality shall designate a portion of the assessment of that property to be allocated for separate school purposes that shall bear the same ratio to the total assessment of that property as the number of resident pupils residing in that district who are under the jurisdiction of the board of the separate school district bears to the total number of resident pupils residing in that district.

(c) who are under the jurisdiction of the board of the separate school district, and

(d) who are under the jurisdiction of the board responsible for the public school district.

(*Statutes of Alberta*, Consolidated to November 1, 1982
Vol. 9, S-3 School Act, pp. 27-28, 31)

Though pleased with the progress made toward attaining equalization of all tax revenues, the ACSTA was aware of counter-effective government policies. One of these was that the distribution of Federal Grants in lieu of taxes was not included in The Education Statutes Amendment Act, 1978. In 1979 the ACSTA view on this matter was submitted to the Executive Council of the Province of Alberta. The relevant submission reads as follows:

> The decision for such an omission fails to recognize a Member of Parliament consensus that education is a provincial matter and that the method of distribution should be determined by the Province. The net effect is simply this: that while revenue from Alberta Government property is now apportioned according to the number of students in each jurisdiction, revenue from Federal Government property is still distributed in the same proportion as the residential assessment. Hesitation in uniformly extending the per student ratio of distribution affects, as a consequence, Calgary and Edmonton and other jurisdictions where the Federal Government has property.
>
> Some guidance for the next action has surfaced from the Attorney General's recent statements, which we summarize for your convenience:
>
> 1. The Power of the legislature is absolute in dealing with education unless its legislation prejudicially affects the minority. Section 17(1) is, therefore, 'separate school protective legislation'—protection for, not against separate schools.
> 2. No authority stipulates the same scheme of apportionment (nor requires the rigid application of the identical system) as followed in the 1901 Ordinance. Therefore, a ratio of assessed value, the number of students a school district educates, or any other system is within the powers of the legislature to establish.
> 3. To suggest that since separate schools were not entitled to a particular grant in 1905 (as the said grant was not in existence) the separate schools are therefore not entitled to it at present, is to ignore the fact that the public schools were not entitled to the grant either. To give all of the grant to one school and not to the other is discriminatory; Section 17(2) requires an equitable sharing of the grant, if the grant is to be made. The legislature has substantial leeway in devising an equitable scheme and . . . it is the duty of the court not to devise schemes, but to ensure that the scheme devised by the Legislature is fair (Weidenhamer, 1971, p. 26). A scheme based upon pupil ratio is such—a valid equitable scheme.
>
> (*Brief to the Executive Council of the Province of Alberta*, October 3, 1979, pp. 2-3)

In light of the above, the following approach was recommended:

> 1. That the present Section 60 statutory provisions, inasmuch as they enable clearly evident and easily identifiable assessment to be apportioned between districts according to formal declaration procedures, remain unchanged.
> 2. That all other corporate assessment be apportioned on the basis of the ratio of resident pupils in each district.
>
> (*Brief to the Executive Council of the Province of Alberta*, October 3, 1979, p. 3)

Government response to Recommendation 2 has already been noted. With respect to Recommendation 1, the response was also positive—the request for equitable distribution of Federal Grants in lieu of taxes was granted. This was embodied in Chapter 36 of the 1981 School Amendment Act.

> HER MAJESTY, by and with the advise and consent of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta, enacts as follows:

> 1 *The School Act is amended by this Act*
>
> 2 *Section 71 is amended*
>
> *(a) in subsections (1) and (2) by striking out* "for school purposes" *and substituting* "with respect to school board requisitions";
>
> *(b) by adding the following after subsection (2):*
>
> (2.1) When
>
> (a) a separate school district is situated wholly or partly within a municipality,
>
> (b) there is federal property situated in that district, and
>
> (c) in respect of that property, grants may be paid to the municipality under the *Municipal Grants Act, 1980* (Canada),
>
> the proper officer for the municipality shall, for the purposes of enabling the council of that municipality to establish its mill rates with respect to school board requisitions, designate a portion of the assessed value of that property to be allocated for separate school purposes which shall bear the same ratio to the total assessed value of that property as the number of resident pupils residing in that district who are under the jurisdiction of the board of the separate school district bears to the total number of
>
> (d) resident pupils residing in that district who are under the jurisdiction of the board of the separate school district, and
>
> (e) resident pupils residing in that district who are under the jurisdiction of the board responsible for the public school district.
>
> (2.2) For the purposes of subsection (2.1), "federal property" and "assessed value" have the meanings given to them in the *Municipal Grants Act, 1980* (Canada).
>
> (*School Amendment Act, 1981*, pp. 707-708)

And so after years of struggle, major gains toward the complete equalization of all tax revenues have been successfully accomplished. Much work remains to be done in this field but, given the dedication of the ACSTA and their track record, future successes seem assured.

Teacher Education

Teacher education is a long standing concern within the Catholic education community. An appreciation of the degree and temporal extent of this concern can be achieved by examining Dr. Robert Carney's review of the three phenomena relating to teacher training and religious education in Alberta that was published in *SALT*, Spring 1979 issue. The three phenomena are:

1. A historical survey (1884–1960);
2. A survey of recent attempts by Catholic school trustees to have religious education courses in faculties of education; and

3. The Religious Studies and Moral Education Council and the University of Calgary.

When the Territorial Government introduced a system of teacher licensing in 1884, it gave the Catholic section of the Board of Education the power to train and license its own teachers, but this arrangement was shortlived. Teacher training and certification soon became the responsibility of a non-sectarian Territorial agency, latterly known as the Council of Public Instruction. Catholic attempts to recover some of these responsibilities met with no success. The Council's position was clear—the preparation of religious educators was not a state responsibility. If separate or public schools wanted such teachers, they would have to look after their training. Such preparation, of course, was to be in addition to the standard teacher certification requirements. Any reference to religion in public schools was to be non-sectarian, that is, schools should promote the best of Christianity and morality without denominationalism. Normal schools assumed that teachers would adopt this stance. Confessional instruction nonetheless remained a vital part of publicly supported Catholic schools, and while common public schools had the same option, few were called upon to allocate the last half hour of school to sectarian instruction. In one instance the Anglicans recommended that the Lord's Prayer be made compulsory, and in another, that some textbooks on ethics and morals such as the Golden Rule series be included in the curriculum, but such strategies were hardly radical nor were they ever vigorously pursued.

In attempting to understand the prevailing ideology of public education for much of Alberta's history, one can discern four often inter-connected attitudes toward religion and schooling. The first theme, reaffirmed by a Provincial Royal Commission on Education in 1959, was that schools should be non-sectarian. A second characteristic of the ideology was linked to a concept of English-speaking ascendancy which David Goggin, the Territory's first Superintendent of Education, referred to as homogeneous citizenship. Non-British groups were to be assimilated into this frame of reference as soon as possible. As Hutterites, Mennonites, Galicians, and Indians all had to be made over, public education had no reason to take their linguistic, cultural, or religious aspirations into account. A third characteristic of the ideology became prominent in Department of Education and teacher training circles in the 1930s. Progressive educators such as H. C. Newland influenced by the secular religion theories by way of the University of Chicago and Teachers' College, Columbia, tended to regard historic supernatural religion as untrue to human experience and institutional religion as divisive. In its stead a vision of civil religion emerged, based on a set of social values, a common morality, and a common faith. A fourth characteristic of the ideology which runs through the period was a view that Catholic schooling was a divisive and, therefore, undesirable phenomenon. Put simply, the position was somewhat as follows. A system of publicly supported sectarian schools had been foisted on the Province by a central government that had yielded to French and Roman Catholic pressure.

This system was not only divisive and sectarian, but it also supported minority ethnic groups, and was generally opposed to the progressive vision of a common culture. To provide additional support to Catholic schools other than what was required constitutionally would be foolhardy. As Catholic schools were required to follow a common curriculum, to use approved texts, and to hire certified teachers, the expectation, which in some instances had the characteristics of anti-Catholic nativism, was that Catholics would in time become disenchanted with their schools and adhere to the public model. Given this climate, there would seem to be little room for compromise; however, several factors, particularly in the last decade, have prompted the rise and the accommodation within both systems of new attitudes toward religious education, as well as the institutionalization of a new professional group known as Religious Studies and Moral Educators.

Keeping in mind, perhaps, the words of Leo XIII's *Affari Vos* that "with God's help, they would have satisfaction" and "obtain the vindication of all their rights," Catholic schooling interests never abandoned the hope of obtaining special teacher training arrangements and continued working to this end. Among the factors that prompted the Alberta Catholic School Trustees' Association (ACSTA) to submit requests to the Alberta Royal Commission on Education in 1958 and to the Minister of Education in 1960 for a Catholic teacher training institute were the new religious studies orientations and the changing staff compositions that accompanied growing Catholic school enrollments. The Canadian bishops responded to criticisms of traditional religious education programs by approving a new catechetical program, *The Canadian Catechism*, in the late 1960s. With its emphasis on process rather than content and its stress on current child-adolescent development theory, it was a radical break into the doctrinal emphasis of traditional religious education. The implementation of the new program was left mainly to lay teachers. The number of priests and religious teachers in Catholic schools declined substantially following the Second World War. Their numbers in Edmonton, for example, dropped from 58 percent in 1938 to less than four percent in 1977. Many lay teachers had no pre-service religious education, and while *ad hoc* in-service programs were established, teachers assigned to full-time religious instruction began to call on accrediting agencies to recognize courses in theology and related disciplines.

Catholic school trustees' attempts to obtain special courses within university faculties of education continued to be rebuffed. In 1960 the Board of Teacher Education and Certification rejected a Trustees' Association proposal for special training for teachers undertaking to teach in Catholic schools by unanimously affirming it did not "favor teacher training of a sectarian type." The Faculty of Education resisted a similar proposal from the trustees in 1972 because of its 'creedal' and 'discriminatory' nature. While prospective Catholic school teachers could take philosophy courses at St. Joseph's College on the University of Alberta campus or a Bachelor of Religious Education degree at Newman Theological College, the ACSTA continued to lobby for professional education courses for Catholic teachers. Resolutions at the 1975, 1976, and 1977 ACSTA conventions called on faculties of education to develop and introduce courses in religious education. The ACSTA also asked member boards to make religious education courses a prerequisite for teacher employment. All of these submissions were reviewed by the Inter-Faculty Committee on Religious and Moral Education, which in its Report to the Deans of the Faculties of Education in April, 1978 recommended that the faculties offer courses in religious education and methodology. The Committee made it clear, however, that it did not support a program of teacher preparation in Catholic education. It would appear that the trustees' hopes for professional courses having a Catholic orientation are not entirely shared by religious educators within the Catholic system. Such changes as the 1970 amendment to the regulation requiring instruction to take place at the end of the day and the Department's approval of three high school religious studies courses for credit facilitated the development of a core of religious educational specialists, particularly within the larger Catholic districts. Their

> affinity with religious educators elsewhere, especially in England and the United States, has led them to endorse a position at variance with the views of many trustees:
>
>> The concept of religious education here proposed rejects two extreme forms of religious education: one that would verge on indoctrination, another that would limit itself to information about religious facts.
>>
>> (C.C.S.C.E., 1974, p. 50)
>
> The third phenomenon concerns . . . [the Religious Studies and Moral Education] Council's submission to the Department of Educational Foundations at the University of Calgary in 1976.
>
> [This] . . . brief to Calgary in December, 1976, contained the *Guidelines for Teacher Competency*, mentioned previously, and a proposal for seven religious and moral education courses. The Department of Religious Studies academic rubric enveloped each course description, none having specific denominational references. In what must be a record in terms of a university response to a client group, Calgary's Faculty of Education, working with departments in the Humanities, put together a religious studies program, obtained university approvals, and announced that it would offer an elementary route second major and a secondary route minor in Religious Education in the fall of 1978.
>
> (Carney, 1979, pp. 36–39)

As noted above, the ACSTA lobbied the faculties of education at both the University of Calgary and the University of Alberta in Edmonton to develop and offer professional education courses for Catholic teachers. Evident too was the responsiveness of Calgary's faculty of education. Edmonton's parallel faculty took more time to react. Not until 1981 was a proposal to establish a minor in Religious and Moral Education considered by the respective Committee on Curriculum and Practicum (CCPRA). On February 2, 1982 the proposed minor was officially sanctioned. A description of this program is included.

Minor in Religious and Moral Education
(Department of Secondary Education)

CCPRA endorsed a minor in Religious and Moral Education which will be comprised of 18 credits—9 credits to be taken within the Faculty of Education and the remaining 9 credits to be taken from St. Joseph's College, St. Stephen's College and/or the Departments of Religious Studies and Philosophy.

The components of the minor:

ED CI 496. *Curriculum and Instruction in Religious and Moral Education.* *3 (either term, 3–0–0). [NEW COURSE]

and two of:

ED PSY 417. *Religious and Moral Development & Education.* *3 (either term, 3–0–0). [NEW COURSE]

ED FDN 434. *History of Religious and Moral Education in Canada* *3 (either term, 3–0–0). [NEW COURSE]

ED FDN 456. *Moral Philosophy & Education.* *3 (either term, 3–0–0). [EXISTING COURSE]

and other courses which may be approved in the future.

Though yet to be implemented, the inclusion of this minor as an option in the B.Ed. program is a signal victory for all those interested in more than the secular dimensions of humankind.

Blueprints for the Future

In Chapter VIII it was recognized that Catholic educational philosophy was comprised of two types of aims—the primary or ultimate aim and secondary aims. It was also emphasized in this chapter that the primary aim is inviolable, while the secondary aims constantly require re–thinking and adaptation to specific times and places. In response to this need the ACSTA has continuously reflected and acted upon this issue. Secondary aims have been reconsidered and modified. And, equally important, the ACSTA consistently re–evaluates its own role vis–à–vis these aims and related issues. No better testimony of this can be presented than the *Proposed Revised Objects Of The Alberta Catholic School Trustees' Association*—a statement prepared by the 1981–82 Board of Directors and Mr. Kevin McKinney, Executive Director (See following pages).

It is important to note that the first expressed long–range goal of the ACSTA is "To foster and support Catholic education." To foster and support Catholic education means that first in importance is the need to foster the primary aim of education. In essence, this aim is to form an individual so that he/she will be fitted and determined to strive toward moral perfection and the attainment of eternal salvation. Given today's social climate, those striving to realize this aim face a Herculean task. The question that then comes to mind is "How can one possibly succeed in achieving the primary aim?" M. V. C. Jeffreys in his book, *Glaucon*, succinctly raises this question and provides an answer.

> The question which is always being brought forward—'To where, to what, must we educate?'—misunderstands the situation. Only times which know a figure of general validity—the Christian, the gentleman, the citizen—know an answer to that question, not necessarily in words, but by pointing with the finger to the figure which rises clear in the air, out–topping all. The forming of this figure in all individuals, out of all materials, is the formation of a 'culture.' But when all figures are shattered, when no figure is able any more to dominate and shape the present

REVISED OBJECTS OF THE ALBERTA CATHOLIC SCHOOL TRUSTEES' ASSOCIATION

a) To consider and provide direction in matters relating to education, to Catholic Education in particular, and to school administration in the Province of Alberta with a view to betterment

b) To implement and utilize a medium of expression, in order that all Catholic Trustees be made aware of Provincial concerns in Catholic Education

c) To act as an effective, responsible and authoritative public voice for Catholic Education in the province

d) To cooperate with associations, Government and Church officials in Alberta and in Canada in matters of provincial and national educational interest

e) To promote and assist in the establishment and maintenance of Catholic jurisdictions throughout the province

f) To assist Catholic School Districts in acquiring funding sufficient for operational viability

g) To serve as a source and resource for Catholic School Districts who request information, for decision-making

h) To provide a vehicle through which Catholic Schools may cooperate for the promotion, guidance and improvement of statutes and regulations affecting Catholic Education and matters relating directly or indirectly to Catholic Education

i) To act, at the discretion of the Board of Directors, as an agent for and on behalf of any Catholic School District, voting and/or associate members of the Association, for the enhancement of Catholic Education

j) To acquire lands by purchase or otherwise, erect or otherwise provide a building or buildings for the purpose of the Association

k) To sell, manage, lease, mortgage, dispose of or otherwise deal with the property of the Association

l) To carry out its objects, the Association may borrow or raise or secure the payment of money in such manner as it thinks fit

m) To do and perform all acts and things incidental to and necessary for the purpose of effecting any of the objects set out in this application in accordance with by-laws at the annual convention of the Association for the proper conduct of the Association.

THE ACSTA LONG RANGE PLAN

CATHOLICITY

Goal	Corresponds to Object(s)
1. To foster and support Catholic education	a
2. To foster continued cooperation with the Alberta Bishops in our joint mission of Catholic education	d
3. To promote the use of the Mission Statement in assisting Boards to develop policy	a
4. To establish and maintain a file of all Alberta Religious Education materials used in the schools from Kindergarten to Grade 12.	g

EDUCATION

1. To promote and lobby for improved teacher training programs and inservice education specifically dealing with Catholic education	a, h
2. To facilitate cooperative programs among Catholic districts in areas such as teacher recruitment and curriculum development, refinement and adaptation to a Catholic philosophy	a, i
3. To facilitate inservice activities for trustees and/or professional educators	a

Approved November 7, 1982

LEGISLATION

Goal	Corresponds to Object(s)
1. To monitor, to initiate and to act as a lobby with the Provincial Government for the betterment of legislation, regulation, and equitable financing of Catholic education in Alberta	d
2. To retain association with the Canadian Catholic School Trustees' Association (CCSTA) and contribute to legislation dealing with Catholic education on the federal level	c, d
3. To encourage and assist the establishment of Catholic school districts when feasible	e

COMMUNICATION

1. To develop an ever improving, effective communication network for Alberta Catholic School Trustees' Assoication (ACSTA) members	a, b c, m
2. To provide a means of expression of the views and suggestions of Catholic trustees on matters pertaining to education	a, b c, m
3. To communicate to trustees and to the public the positive aspects of Catholic education	b, c
4. To act as a liaison agent and clearing house for ideas, dialogue and recommendations emanating from Catholic districts in the province	b

RELATIONSHIP WITH ALBERTA SCHOOL TRUSTEES' ASSOCIATION (ASTA) AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

1. To continue to examine the role and effectiveness of the ACSTA on the Alberta educational scene	a
2. To maintain ACSTA autonomy, recognition and financial independence	m
3. To specify the ACSTA's objectives in such detailed manner as to avoid duplication of ASTA services and resources	a
4. To ensure that a representative be appointed to all ministerial or departmental committees established with a view to recommending change in policies, procedures or legislative acts which bear on our Catholic school system	d
5. To preserve and maintain close working relationships between the ASTA and the ACSTA and secure active representation on ASTA Task Forces and Councils	d

CONVENTIONS - CONFERENCES

1. To continue to ensure that the ACSTA Annual Convention and Spring Conference focus on issues that are of immediate relevance to Catholic trustees	a, g
2. To continue sponsorship of Spring Conferences and/or other assemblies which further the goals of Catholic education	a, g

FINANCES

1. To set operating budget priorities and clearly communicate their intent to member Boards, prior to the Convention	b, m

ADMINISTRATION

1. To devise a process whereby annual objectives of the ACSTA are established, priorized and subsequently evaluated, in consultation with the Executive Director and his staff, on a pre-scheduled basis	m
2. To maintain accessibility of administrative staff to all Catholic school districts	b
3. To ensure that there is adequate staffing in place to meet and match the goals and objectives of the ACSTA	m
4. To examine the Executive Director's role description and those of other staff in order to maintain relevance in accordance with the workings of the ACSTA office	m

> human material, what is there left to form?
>
> "Nothing but the image of God."
>
> "When all 'directions' fail there arises in the darkness over the abyss the one true direction of man, towards the creative Spirit, towards the Spirit of God brooding on the face of the waters, towards Him of whom we know not whence He comes and whither he goes."
>
> "That is man's true autonomy which no longer betrays, but responds."
>
> "Man, the creature, who forms and transforms the creation, cannot create. But he, each man, can expose himself and others to the creative Spirit. And he can call upon the Creator to save and perfect His image."
>
> "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me."
>
> (Jeffreys, 1955, pp. 164–165)

With this peroration committed Catholics agree.

EPILOGUE

by Isobel Temple*

In the late 1970s the ACSTA took a series of steps to re-examine and redefine its primary task of fostering and supporting Catholic education.

In 1976 Dr. R. J. Carney, Faculty of Education, the University of Alberta, was commissioned to write a paper on *The Theory and Practice of Catholic Schooling in Alberta*. The objective was to provide a framework from which the ACSTA province-wide and individual school boards locally could generate philosophical statements, goals and objectives to underpin and rationalize their work.

Fortuitously, in 1977 *The Catholic School* was published by the Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education in Rome. This document, the Vatican's first on Catholic education since Vatican II, was a powerful exhortation to understand the pluralistic world in which Catholic schools operate, the advances in pedagogical insight now available, and the central role of the family in education of children.

In response, the Bishops of Alberta and the ACSTA formed a Task Force to examine its implications for this province's Catholic educators. One of its recommendations was that a serious examination of Catholic schools' reason for being should be undertaken. The Task Force report was presented to the ACSTA convention in 1979, and the ACSTA responded by convening a conference on "Developing Blueprints for the Future: The Mission & Ministry of the Catholic School."

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In doing so, they initiated a process which in 1983 is into its third vigorous year, and promises to continue indefinitely as a creative force in Alberta Catholic education.

As Alberta Catholic educators are so often reminded by colleagues from other places, they are fortunate in not having to fight for, or sacrifice for, the right to maintain their own schools. As a minority, publicly-supported school system, they enjoy legal and financial protection of their right to existence. It is all too easy in such comfort to make assumptions. One of the most tempting, for confessional schools, is to assume that everyone understands, accepts and acts upon the same concepts of the schools' role and responsibility.

In initiating the Blueprints process, the ACSTA was questioning that easy assumption. Catholic education had changed radically in the previous 20 years, and there were obvious strains. Vatican II, the dramatic disappearance of religion from teaching staffs, the decline in vocations, rapid growth in enrollments, new educational research, and significant changes in the Canadian social fabric, all presented Catholic educators with a new world to work in. It was indeed time to get back to basics: what *is* the mission and ministry of Catholic schools?

The first Blueprints conference could have been like so many others, but it wasn't—for a number of reasons:

1. The time was ripe. Young Catholic teachers and administrators yearned for a way to share their deeply-held commitment to religious education, their deeply-felt uncertainties on how to reconcile this obligation with the demands of modern school operation. They wanted to get back to first things.
2. The opportunity was seized. A planning group including trustees, school administrators and theologians spent a year exploring the possibility of making this conference a seminal experience for its participants; of making it the beginning of a process rather than an isolated event.

   The group included Mary Wild, Grande Prairie trustee; Margaret Kearns, Calgary trustee; Ralph Himsl, Lethbridge superintendent; Gerry Heck, Fort McMurray superintendent; Stan Digout, Wainwright superintendent; Ric Laplante, Edmonton director of curriculum; Dr. Tad Guzie, Faculty of Education, University of Calgary; Father Michael McCaffery, principal, Newman Theological College, Edmonton; and Kevin McKinney, executive director, ACSTA.
3. The Mission Statement was prepared (See following). Imperfect, often revised, argued about ever since, this was in 10 short paragraphs

an attempt to distill the purpose and imperatives for education contained in the Gospels. It is the touchstone for the Blueprints process. The first version was written by Father Michael O'Callaghan of Newman Theological College, Edmonton.

MISSION STATEMENT

As of January 1983 the Mission Statement has been revised half a dozen times. Below is printed the most recent version as of that date. It is presently being worked over again by Superintendents, Trustees and the Bishops. Their revised version will be available at the May '83 Blueprints Conference. This is in keeping with the reality that the Mission Statement is a dynamic tool in which we are all attempting to express the most essential elements of our schools' reason for being. The process will continue at the conference, as participants use the Mission Statement as the reference point for their deliberations.

1. Jesus Christ came to reveal the true identity of humanity as a people saved from its sin of rejecting God—a people who can discover its full identity only by responding to God's voice. Any authentic concern for humanity then is profoundly religious, just as any authentic concern for religion is profoundly humanistic.
2. The work of the Christian Church is to help humanity discover its proper identity as called to God in Christ by the Spirit—a call demanding either rejection or acceptance.
3. Catholic schools exist as that dimension of the Church concerned with directing secular educational formation towards an encounter with this world of the sacred. This means providing an education that prepares the way of the Lord, that opens up secular learning to its relationships with God's saving call in Christ and in Christian history.
4. Catholic schools, then, help children learn about themselves and their world in relation to God—a relation embodied in the life and message of Christ Jesus and in the community bearing the name Christian. It follows that Catholic schools complement the formation which is ideally provided in Catholic homes and parishes; for inasmuch as it is the school that structures and teaches the wealth of human knowledge and practice, so it is the Catholic school that can best teach children to reflect on and celebrate the religious meaning of that knowledge and practice.
5. Accordingly, the Catholic school is needed, not just to provide classes specifically in religion and Christianity, but more importantly to set forth the world of the sciences and humanities in its relation to religion and Christianity.
6. Catholic schools cannot produce religious convictions or religious conversion, as this is a gift of love from God alone. But Catholic schools can and must provide a climate conducive to religious transformation, by encouraging colleagues and students to express their religious convictions openly in a manner that unites thinking and feeling.
7. To accomplish this, teachers in Catholic schools know and live the religious dimension in the classroom. This does not mean, however, that the religious practice of teachers must be in all cases the governing norm of employment in Catholic schools. It is of even greater importance that the Catholic school nourish and promote authentic Christian living in its teachers. In turn, teachers are aware their educational ministry already gives them an active role in Catholic parish life.

8. To meet the purpose of Catholic education in our own day, there is need of including the religious and Christian dimensions of humanity in teacher-training programs at universities and colleges, just as there is a need of continuing religious education for teachers already in the schools.
9. Catholic education should be highly diversified, sensitive to the changing needs of various racial, ethnic, and economic groups. Every effort should be made to introduce community and neighborhood programs that embody the specifically Catholic dimension of childhood and adult education. The heritage and purpose of Catholic schools in Alberta should itself become a topic for discussion in school programs.
10. Catholic school administrators exercise a responsibility, not only in relation to government policy-makers and to the Bishops of Alberta, but also in relation to Catholic parents and children. As educational leaders, administrators have the task of co-ordinating the many diverse tasks demanded by education, and of building community by infusing those tasks with a unifying Christian and Catholic vision.

Objectives for the first Blueprints conference in 1981 were:

1. To develop some theoretical models for the Catholic School, based on church teaching and tradition, Canadian law, and the expectations of the Catholic community.
2. To develop commitment from the participants and by extension from the Catholic communities they represent.
3. To develop an élan, a spirit which will infuse the Alberta Catholic community with a sense of purpose, a sense of direction for the future.
4. To begin, and encourage further development of, a literature relating to Alberta Catholic education; and to stimulate scholarly work in this field.
5. In summary, to develop blueprints for the future which have the hope of defining and realizing the Mission and Ministry of Catholic Schools in Alberta.

As the program stated, it was "the intention that this conference will be a watershed in the history of Alberta Catholic education."

It was invitational, with every Catholic school district in the province allocated a proportional share of the 150 spaces. School superintendents were asked to nominate those to attend. While a small number of participants represented the clergy, trustees and other groups within the Catholic community, the emphasis was clearly on school principals and vice-principals as the key figures in school operation—and therefore as key change agents in Catholic schools' religious education.

The intention was to make this a hard-working, hard-thinking and inter-active conference. The 10 presenters' papers were published in advance for study, and conference sessions were spent in discussion with them and in small groups. The conference lasted a week—May 3-8, 1981, and was held on the University of Calgary campus (as have been subsequent conferences).

Presenters were:

Ralph Himsl, who set the stage, explained the conference design and the genesis of the Mission Statement; Dr. Robert Carney, who presented an historical overview of Catholic education in the province; Ric Laplante, on the ministry of trustees, teachers, clergy and parents; Ralph Vigna, Calgary principal, on the faith community and its implications for staff; Dr. John Acheson, on group process; Sister Barbara Rice, Edmonton supervisor of religious education, on pluralism of belief and practice; Dr. Tad Guzie, on the basics of religious education; Dan Kingdon, Grande Prairie principal, on changing family forms and the school; Father Jim Jordan, Calgary, on the school and parish relationships; and Dr. Bob Schulz on management techniques.

Each night during the conference, participants carried out a process of distillation, arriving at eight goals for Catholic education, all related to the Mission Statement. They generated hundreds of strategies by which to achieve those goals, and refined them to a dozen for each goal.

The goals:

1. To work towards the integration of the total community (school, church, home, municipality) in order that all within the community are provided with the opportunity to grow to fullness in Christ.
2. To develop theory and practice in our school system which reflect the uniqueness of the vision and philosophy of Catholic education.
3. To expect all teachers to be witness to the message of Christ and to support the goals of the school district.
4. To foster active faith development at all levels.
5. To initiate professional development programs for teachers in religious education and personal faith development.
6. To foster a student/child centered program of education.
7. To make the Catholic school a visible Catholic institution and to improve our communication with the public.
8. To develop a province-wide broad-based philosophy which reflects the ACSTA mission statement.

The hopes of the conference planners were indeed realized. The week was a significant experience for many participants; there was an élan, a spirit, infusing them; and there was concrete achievement. The combination produced an excitement and joy which became almost palpable at the closing liturgy, celebrated and addressed by Bishop Paul O'Byrne of Calgary. There was a sense of Pentecost.

In the final evaluation, there were specific recommendations from participants, even pleas: while asserting the Blueprints process must be a grassroots movement, must be practical to be effective, they urged the necessity of trustee and clergy involvement and support.

At the ACSTA convention the following fall, Blueprints occupied most of the program. Participating principals presented often sharply contrasting reviews of their success in implementing strategies in their home districts. It became clear that school staffs needed and expected active commitment from their boards to the Mission Statement and to the Blueprints goals and strategies. They could not discover and pursue the mission and ministry of Catholic schools by themselves.

In the course of the year, special packages of materials arising from the conference were sent to schools and to trustees—designed to maintain momentum and draw into the process the members of the wider Catholic community. Conference participants exchanged, through the ACSTA office, their specific local plans and experiences. In many school districts, staffs, trustees and clergy together got right to work developing priorities and long-term plans to implement the Blueprints process locally.

The conference planning committee continued their work without a break, following up on Blueprints '81 and preparing for the sequel in May 1982. Some members left, others joined the group: George Bunz, superintendent, East Central; Lou Duigou, superintendent, North Peace; Henry Pilipchuk, Edmonton principal; Father Gratien Burkiciak, Bishop's Office, Calgary; Cecil Short, Fort McMurray trustee, and Isobel Temple, Calgary community relations consultant. Ralph Himsl, Gerry Heck, Tad Guzie, Bob Schulz and Kevin McKinney continued.

From the first conference, it was clear the linch-pin in the Blueprints process was the school principal, on whom falls the main responsibility for religious education and life in the school. Consequently the theme selected for Blueprints '82 was "Celebrating the Principalship."

Conference objectives were:

1. To celebrate the principalship.
2. To discover the competencies required to implement the Mission Statement.
3. To develop skills in implementing the Blueprint: how to translate philosophy into practice.
4. To provide for continuity of effort from the first Blueprints Conference in May 1981.
5. To create a community of discourse: a professional exchange among peers, including accepted terminology, vocabulary, identifying key questions, goals, developing leadership groups.

6. To liberate the principal in relation to specific ministry, increasing his/her comfort level as spokesperson and leader.
7. To develop opportunities for leadership among the ranks of principals.

The conference design was similar to the first, though it lasted three days rather than a week, and included only three major presentations: Dr. Erwin Miklos, the University of Alberta, on "The Role of the Catholic School Principal;" and Ralph Himsl with Father William Kelly, Lethbridge, on "Managing the School According to the Gospel." A dozen past participants volunteered mini–papers on Blueprints–related topics, and these were included with the major presentations in the book of advance readings.

Using these as background, participants in small group sessions developed implementation plans related to the goals identified in Blueprints '81.

There was less satisfaction with this second conference than the first—because it was a very hard act to follow; because there was less time, too much of which was spent on speech presentation; because the notion of the principal's "ministry" was difficult; because participants were clearer about their needs after a year's struggle to make Blueprints come alive, and were not about to be satisfied with a conventional conference. In a sense their dissatisfaction was a healthy declaration of independence.

The intensive discussion on the true role of the Catholic school principal which occurred at Blueprints '83 was of timely value elsewhere. It was during this year that the Alberta Catholic School Trustees' Association undertook an examination of the principal's role in order to contribute to School Act revision discussions. As a result of Blueprints '83, the ACSTA was able to contribute to this examination fruits of recent, careful thinking on the matter out of the mouths of the principals themselves. Following is the statement presented by the ACSTA at ASTA workshops:

> The leadership role in the Catholic school encompasses three functions:
>
> (1) moral and religious leader;
>
> (2) educational leader, and
>
> (3) effective manager.
>
> The task of religious leadership in Catholic education is to infuse the school climate with values that go beyond those generally associated with non–Catholic education. Effective leadership in a Catholic school will ensure that specifically determined Christian values permeate the actions of the administrators, teachers, and students. Essential to a Christian school atmosphere is a spirit of freedom and charity.

> The role of educational leader in the Catholic school focuses on integrating all different aspects of human knowledge through the subjects taught, in light of the Gospel.
>
> Principals should recognize that the managerial role allows for individual interpretations of leadership style. Personal preferences and situations should determine whether the principal involves others in the leadership process or plays the major role himself. Effective leadership calls for creativity, vision, commitment, communication, acceptance, and action.
>
> Although their contributions are important, principals have only a share in the responsibility for providing leadership in Catholic education. School authorities and principals together must define realistic leadership responsibilities.

In the final Blueprints '82 evaluation, participants stressed the necessity of involving teachers in Blueprints, and asked for tools to help bring this about. It was this demand which the planning committee attempted to meet in preparing for Blueprints '83. Again, membership of the committee changed somewhat, with Janina Diodati, religious education consultant, Calgary, Father Michael Duggan of Strathmore, Yolande Gagnon, Calgary trustee, and Jim Collins, Deputy superintendent, North Central joining the group.

At the ACSTA convention in the fall of 1982, the Blueprints process was in the air and on the agenda in a panel session titled "Mission 2001—Hazards and Hopes." The Mission Statement received its first thorough public analysis on this occasion, when several speakers dissected it clause by clause. Most important, in pointing out the weaknesses they perceived, they supported the need for it, and urged its recomposition in a form which could receive wide support in the Catholic educational community.

With the theme of "Profiling and Building the Catholic Identity of Our Schools," the objectives of Blueprints '83 became:

1) To follow up on the challenges of Blueprints '81 and '82.
2) To put philosophy into practice—testing tools to involve staff.
3) To plan for the future of the Blueprints process.
4) To continue building our sense of province-wide community.

Relying heavily on the expertise of Drs. Schultz and Guzie, the committee devised a questionnaire by which school staffs could collate their present perceptions of their school's religious life, analyze its strengths and weaknesses, and identify priorities for action. Each section of the questionnaire is keyed to the Mission Statement and to the eight basic goals developed at Blueprints '81.

In the winter of 1983 the questionnaire was piloted in 12 schools around the province, whose principals will be key resource people at Blueprints '83. The thrust of the conference (two months away at time of writing) will be toward learning to use the questionnaire as a practical device to make local and district analyses.

Then, using the hundreds of strategies developed at the first two conferences, participants may make local plans to meet local needs. The objective: to give life to assertions made early in Blueprints history—that expertise lies in ourselves, not some distant place or person; and that the mission and ministry of the Catholic school must be addressed by teachers and administrators, trustees and clergy together in their own communities.

In the winter of 1982–83, work continued on the Mission Statement, with the objective of making it the desired distillation of purpose for Catholic schools. The Bishops of Alberta were asked for their views on it, and responded by urging the superintendents to develop an analysis. Suggestions for amendment were offered by several members of the clergy. The hope was that by the time of Blueprints '83, the Mission Statement would have undergone another vital stage of development, involving the spiritual and administrative leaders of the Catholic education community—bringing it that much closer to becoming a definitive expression.

The first Blueprints conference was an historic event. Never before had so many Catholic school administrators been gathered together to talk with each other specifically about the reasons for their schools' existence. In these three conferences, a very large proportion of all Alberta Catholic school administrators will have participated in the process, will have formed friendships and a network of communication through which they're learning their aspirations and challenges are shared, not isolated.

There's a long way to go. The cautious hope of the planning committee is that Blueprints '83 will help participants move yet another step down the road they are so clearly willing to tread: the road to making Alberta Catholic schools places where the Gospel lives.

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